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NORTH CAROLINA HISTORICAL COMMISSION
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PROCEEDINGS

OF THE

Eleventh and Twelfth Annual Sessions

OF THE

STATE LITERARY AND HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION

JANUARY 12, 1911
NOVEMBER 27-28, 1911

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HON. HENRY CABOT LODGE

The guest of the State Literary and Historical Association at its Twelfth Annual Meeting.

PROCEEDINGS

OF THE

ELEVENTH *and* TWELFTH ANNUAL MEETINGS

OF THE

STATE LITERARY AND HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION

RALEIGH, N. C.

ELEVENTH ANNUAL SESSION

January 12, 1911

TWELFTH ANNUAL SESSION

November 27-28, 1911

Compiled by

CLARENCE POE

Secretary-Treasurer

Raleigh, N. C.
Edwards & Broughton Printing Co.
1912

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Wm. K. Boyd.....Durham
F. A. Woodard.....Wilson

PURPOSES OF THE ORGANIZATION.

"The collection, preservation, production, and dissemination of our State literature and history; the encouragement of public and school libraries; the establishment of an historical museum; the inculcation of a literary spirit among our people; the correction of printed misrepresentations concerning North Carolina; and the engendering of an intelligent, healthy State pride in the rising generation."

ELIGIBILITY TO MEMBERSHIP—MEMBERSHIP DUES.

All persons interested in its purposes are invited to become members of the Association.

There are two classes of members: "Regular members," paying $1 a year, and "Sustaining Members," paying $5 a year.

PRESIDENTS OF THE STATE LITERARY AND HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION.

1900–1901.....WALTER CLARK, Raleigh
1901–1902.....HENRY G. CONNOR, Wilson
1902–1903.....WILLIAM LOUIS POTEAT, Wake Forest
1903–1904.....C. ALPHONSO SMITH, Chapel Hill
1904–1905.....ROBERT W. WINSTON, Durham
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1907–1908.....ROBERT BINGHAM, Asheville
1908–1909.....JUNIUS DAVIS, Wilmington
1909–1910.....PLATT D. WALKER, Charlotte
1910–1911.....EDWARD K. GRAHAM, Chapel Hill
1911–1912.....R. D. W. CONNOR, Raleigh

AWARDS OF PATTERSON MEMORIAL CUP.

1905—JOHN CHARLES MCNEILL, for poems later reprinted in book form as "Songs, Merry and Sad." (Presentation by Theodore Roosevelt.)

1906—EDWIN MIMS, for "Life of Sidney Lanier." (Presentation by Fabius H. Busbee.)

1907—KEMP PLUMMER BATTLE. "History of the University." (Presentation by Francis D. Winston.)

1908—SAMUEL A'COURT ASHE. "History of North Carolina." (Presentation by Thomas Nelson Page.)

1909—CLARENCE POE. "A Southerner in Europe." (Presentation by Ambassador James Bryce.)

1910—R. D. W. CONNOR. "Cornelius Harnett." (Presentation by T. W. Bickett.)

1911—ARCHIBALD HENDERSON. "Bernard Shaw." (Presentation by Hon. Lee S. Overman.)

The North Carolina Historical Commission

J. Bryan Grimes, *Chairman*, Raleigh.

W. J. Peele, Raleigh. D. H. Hill, Raleigh.

Thomas M. Pittman, Henderson. M. C. S. Noble, Chapel Hill.

R. D. W. Connor, *Secretary*, Raleigh.

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Minutes of the Eleventh Annual Session of the State Literary and Historical Association

THE Eleventh Annual Session of the State Literary and Historical Association was held in the Hall of the House of Representatives Thursday afternoon, January 12, 1911. First on the program was a "Review of the Historical Activities of the Year," by Mr. R. D. W. Connor, of the State Historical Commission.* Dr. Edwin Mims, Chairman of the Extension Committee, then made an address, saying in part:

Dr. Woodrow Wilson said at the sesquicentennial celebration at Princeton several years ago, "Of course, when all is said, it is not learning, but the spirit of service that will give a college place in the public annals of the nation." There is laid down upon us the compulsion of the National life. We should not keep aloof and closet ourselves while a nation is coming to its maturity. The words suggest at once the development of democracy and the responsibility of high institutions of learning in a democracy.

One of the most striking evidences of progress of the nineteenth century was the desire of the people for increased knowledge. Elementary schools, secondary schools, colleges and universities have not satisfied the craving of the people for continuous education. This desire for popularization of culture has been expressed in various forms of popular education—the movement for public libraries, organizations of clubs and well planned systematic extension lectures.

Corresponding with this increasing culture on the part of the public is the desire of high institutions of learning to be of service to the wider public than that found within the walls of those institutions. The University Extension movement in England, whereby Oxford and Cambridge have come into touch with many centers of English life, the adoption of the same ideas and methods by the University of Chicago, the University of Wisconsin, and more recently by Columbia and Harvard, all give evidence of an increase in coöperation between the public and high institutions of learning.

It may be admitted readily that the greatest service that a college does to a State is that of doing well and thoroughly the tasks demanded by its student body. The greatest service rendered by an individual teacher is that of the class room. Not all scholars are

*This paper is included in Bulletin No. 9 of the Publications of the North Carolina Historical Commission: "The Third Biennial Report of the North Carolina Historical Commission." Members of the State Literary and Historical Association who desire a copy can obtain it by writing to Mr. R. D. W. Connor, Raleigh, N. C.

adapted to public work; men who have high ideals of research should be encouraged in every possible way—give their whole time and attention to laboratories and libraries, and yet in every college faculty there are men who are fitted by temperament, and by their desire to extend their influence, to engage in the work of a public nature. Such a man strives to make his ideas prevail in the community at large. If he is a man of science, he will do what he can to arouse the public to an appreciation of what science is and will lend his efforts to the development of the scientific methods and spirit; if he is a student of history he will not be satisfied unless he has something to do with the interpretation of history for many of his fellow citizens, who may be college graduates or who may never have had the advantages of such a training.

No college or university in the State is prepared to undertake extension work on any large scale; working together through this Association, they may arrange for courses of lectures in five or six centers in the State. Public libraries, high schools and clubs of the community can work together for the successful launching of such courses. Several college men have already agreed to give series of three or four lectures and several communities have already expressed a desire for such lectures. By concentration of all the organizations that are interested in the advancement of the community, real service may be rendered to the commonwealth. Such work will be of the greatest benefit to the institutions themselves.

Such a movement must go slowly at first, but if it succeeds in a few places, it will soon succeed throughout the whole State. The public work that is being done now in more or less a haphazard way by college men will be crystallized and made systematic. The results will be disappointing at first, but their ultimate effect can not be questioned.

Dr. D. H. Hill then presented the Bibliography of the year, as printed elsewhere. Following Dr. Hill's paper, Attorney-General T. W. Bickett, on behalf of the Committee, announced the award of the Patterson Memorial Cup and presented it to the winner, Mr. R. D. W. Connor, whose "Cornelius Harnett" had won this well merited recognition. In presenting the cup Mr. Bickett said:

The learned Paul was intensely human when he gave to the Corinthians the injunction, "So run that ye may obtain the prize." The prize, whether it be a crown of laurel or a cup of gold, has always appealed to the imagination of mankind and elicited its supremest endeavors. A fairly accurate appraisement of the character of a people may be made by a consideration of those excellencies

for which they offer rewards. The perception of virtue is next door neighbor to its possession. Therefore, in the establishment of this golden trophy, Mr. Patterson has conferred upon the State a twofold blessing: It blesses the men who are incited to noble effort, and, in much greater degree, it blesses all the people by its beautiful emphasis upon the wisdom of the "Children of Light."

Sir, this cup comes to you with a noble lineage. Its chain of title is of pure gold. The first link in that chain is the "Song of a Caged Mocking Bird" by that sweet and gentle spirit, who was brother in race and soul to the great Scotch bard, and whose early going away made those of us who loved him feel that

> "The unfinished window in Aladdin's tower
> Unfinished must remain."

The last link in this golden chain was wrought by the most remarkable farm product of this generation, a young man whose book and whose life is dedicated to the intellectual and financial emancipation of his own people.

It is a keen personal pleasure to me to present you this tangible evidence of victory. From the day that your first historical paper appeared in the press I have felt that we had a true historian in our midst, one able to see things in their just proportion and assign events their proper place in the development of the State.

It is eminently appropriate that this cup should be awarded to one whose patriotic efforts have rescued and preserved for future writers such a wealth of historical material.

Your "Life of Cornelius Harnett" should be read in every home in North Carolina, and it is to be hoped that this recognition of its merits will result in its wide distribution among our people.

I congratulate you, sir, upon having worked your way into such a goodly company. May this cup be to you the "Open Sesame" to these treasure-houses of the mind and heart where "words fitly spoken are like apples of gold in pictures of silver."

President Walker announced as the Committee on Nomination of Officers, Messrs. F. A. Woodard, of Wilson; Albert L. Cox, of Raleigh; George Rountree, of Wilmington; Chief Justice Walter Clark, of Raleigh, and Dr. Thomas P. Harrison, of Chapel Hill.

As a Committee on Resolutions he named Dr. R. T. Vann, W. J. Peele, Marshall DeLancey Haywood, Capt. M. O. Sherrill, and Dr. D. H. Hill.

Hon. Richard H. Battle, as Chairman of the Committee to look after the erection of a marble statue of the State's great

son, Zebulon B. Vance, in the Capitol at Washington, reported that by resolution of the General Assembly of 1907 the statue was to be erected out of funds of the State Treasury not otherwise appropriated in 1911; that it was hoped that this would be done, but in view of the empty treasury, the Governor and Council of State had incurred no expense, but the Governor has said that he would make some recommendations and the assurance had been given that steps will soon be taken to carry out the resolution. The report was adopted.

For the Committee on the Practicability of Marking Historic Sites Mr. Marshall DeLancey Haywood reported one meeting of the committee; that no funds are in hand, and that the work is being done by local associations; that the committee be discharged, the State being too large to be kept under supervision. The report was adopted.

Mrs. Lindsay Patterson, of Winston-Salem, extended on behalf of the Wachovia Historical Society an invitation to the Association to meet next in Winston-Salem.

President Walker expressed thanks for the invitation and stated that under the by-laws this would be decided by the executive committee.

RESOLUTION REGARDING TRAVELING LIBRARIES.

The following resolution, offered by Prof. Edward K. Graham, was unanimously adopted:

WHEREAS, The North Carolina Library Commission, since its creation in April, 1909, has constantly striven to stimulate interest and foster development in North Carolina libraries; and

WHEREAS, It is at present endeavoring to secure legislation providing for the operation of a system of free traveling libraries through which library facilities may be carried to groups of rural taxpayers, to rural high schools, and to small towns not at present possessing public libraries: therefore, be it

Resolved, That the State Literary and Historical Association commend the North Carolina Library Commission in its endeavors to secure the necessary legislation for the operation of such a system of traveling libraries, and that it coöperate in such ways as may seem best with the Commission in its efforts to this end.

LOCAL HISTORICAL SOCIETIES.

The following report of the Committee on Local Historical Societies was received and adopted:

The Committee on Local Historical Societies recommend that such local societies as have ten or more members and charge annual dues of at least $1.00 may be affiliated with the State Literary and Historical Association upon the annual payment of fifty cents for each member. The members of the local society in such a case to become members of the Association without further dues.

NEED OF A FIREPROOF LIBRARY.

The Committee on Resolutions also presented the following report, which was adopted without a dissenting vote:

Whereas, The State of North Carolina has in her public records, her State Library, Supreme Court Library, Museum, Hall of History, and in other collections, invaluable public property constantly exposed to destruction on account of being housed in inadequate buildings, totally unprotected from fire; therefore, be it

Resolved, By the State Literary and Historical Association, that it is the sense of this Association that there is an imperative demand for the erection by the State of a fireproof building for the better protection of such valuable public property and for the better accommodation of the several departments of the State government.

Another resolution was passed as follows:

Resolved, That it is the sense of this Association that the State should purchase the painting lately finished by Mr. Jaques Busbee—the landing of the English on Roanoke Island in 1584 and their reception by the Indian Queen.

At the evening session President Platt D. Walker, of the State Literary and Historical Association, presented his annual address on "The Mission of the Association." (See page 15.) At the conclusion of his address President Walker introduced Hon. Thomas J. Jarvis, ex-Governor of North Carolina, who made a notable and eloquent appeal for the erection of a fireproof State Library and Hall of Records, a movement inaugurated by the Association several years ago and which it has prosecuted with unflagging zeal.

At the conclusion of Governor Jarvis's speech Rev. C. J. Wilson moved a rising vote of thanks to the distinguished speaker, which was heartily and unanimously given.

The selection of officers for ensuing year then followed, resulting in the following elections:

President—E. K. GRAHAM, Chapel Hill.
First Vice-President—MRS. FRANCES FISHER TIERNAN, of Salisbury (Christian Reid).
Second Vice-President—JULIUS C. MARTIN, Asheville.
Third Vice-President—MISS EDITH ROYSTER, Raleigh.
Secretary and Treasurer—CLARENCE POE, Raleigh.

The Association then adjourned.

Annual Address of the President

Delivered by Hon. Platt D. Walker, in the Hall of the House of Representatives, Raleigh, Thursday Evening, January 12, 1911.

Ladies and Gentlemen:

I must first return to you my cordial thanks for the honor which you conferred upon me by my election to preside over such an illustrious body at the annual meeting. When I recall the names of those who have occupied this position in the past it increases my sense of gratitude to you that I should have been considered a worthy successor to those who have filled this office so gracefully and with such rare ability.

It is expected that I say something concerning the great object or aim of this Association, which is to encourage and further the literary spirit in our State and to stimulate our people to greater endeavor in historical research. It seems to have been regarded, and rightly so, by those who took part in the organization of the Association, that a matter of the first importance is the preservation of our State literature and history, so that what has already been achieved or gained should not be lost by our failing to provide for the care and protection of our literary and historical records, and the vast collection of books and valuable material in our State libraries and museum which can not easily be restored if destroyed.

The work of preservation must, of course, be undertaken by the State. The value of this property, which belongs to the State, is sufficient of itself to induce the early adoption of such effective measures as will secure it against the hazards which now constantly surround it and threaten it with destruction. We can not appeal too often or too much to the representatives of the people to provide some safe repository for the many records and volumes, the natural, scientific and literary curiosities which have been collected by the well directed efforts of her faithful and devoted sons and daughters in their patriotic endeavor to rescue from oblivion all that has made her history glorious in the past, and illustrates her achievements in science, art and lit-

erature, her renown in war, and her wealth in the hidden treasures of the earth. "The roots of the present lie deep in the past, and nothing in the past is dead to the man who would learn how the present came to be what it is."

This sentiment, chosen as one of the mottoes of your Historical Commission, expresses in neat and eloquent phrase the dominant spirit and purpose of this body. It warns us that we can not forget what has been done in the past, if we would successfully perform the duties of the hour, and that our present development in all departments of intellectual effort is but the result of the slow but sure process of evolution from the beginning. We do not live in the present alone, for all we are and all we have gained in intellectual and material things have come to us by gradual accretions—the growth and fruitage of seed sown as the years have come and gone. A wise policy, therefore, dictates that nothing should be lost by a failure to safeguard the records of past achievements. The cost of preserving them will be far less than the cost of replacing them, even if this could be done. It is therefore well to sound the note of warning again and again until it is heeded, and the hope we have so often expressed has been realized.

There is no reason why our people should not rank with the best in literary culture and attainments. The rapid extension of educational advantages and facilities and the improved methods of instruction, with our University and colleges annually contributing to the diffusion of knowledge and learning through those who, after thorough training according to the highest standards of scholarship, enter the professional and other callings well equipped for the life work which they have undertaken, these and other accessories have caused a deeper and livelier interest to be taken in the advancement of our people in their literary pursuits and ambitions, and for this reason more has been accomplished in recent years than ever before. The early history of the State has not only been made easily accessible to the reader, but many questions of historical interest have been presented and discussed in attractive style by those whose learning and scholarship eminently qualify them to write upon such subjects.

The incentive to still greater effort in the field of literature and historical investigation has been constantly afforded by this Association, and the results so far accomplished give promise that the purposes for which it was organized will eventually be fully realized. A vast area has been left unexplored and awaits the coming of the diligent student and scholar to discover and reveal, in song and story, its rich and varied treasures. In these strenuous times, when the thoughts of men are centered on the acquisition of material things, when the State has increased by rapid strides in wealth and population, it is encouraging to think that educational progress and development have kept even pace with this steady growth in other directions, and that the scholar has made his influence felt in as great a degree as those who led in the march to industrial supremacy. Indeed, to him is due, in large measure, the credit of preparing the thinkers and workers in the industrial world by mental training and enlightenment for the solution of the great problems of this busy and restless life. The higher the order of intelligence, the more readily does the mind grasp these intricate questions, and the more intelligently and skillfully unravels them. One of the first duties of the State to the citizen is to educate him, to place within his reach every facility for mental and moral development and improvement. The more faithfully and zealously she performs this duty the richer will be her reward in all things that make for the greatness and glory of the Commonwealth. The growth of a State, except, perhaps, that which is adventitious, is measured always by the growth of her citizens in capacity and fitness for the successful performance of their duties, whether in science, art, or literature, in the trades or the professions. We need have no concern for what those who have preceded us have done, for in every crisis of the State, whether in peace or war, they have shed nothing but lustre and renown upon her history. When we recall the deeds of the Revolutionary patriots, of those who, in the early days of the republic, were confronted by problems never before presented to the wit of man, we have reason to be more than proud of the part which our noble and distinguished men performed, not only in the making, but in the maintenance of our institutions. Their

deeds deserve to be perpetuated, and while we are making history even now, we should sacredly preserve the records of their achievements, for as has been so well said: "A people who have not the pride to record their history, will not long have the virtue to make history worth recording."

In conclusion, therefore, let me urge upon you, in the language of your constitution, the collection, preservation, production, and dissemination of our State literature and history, the encouragement of public and school libraries; the establishment of an historical museum; the inculcation of a literary spirit among our people; the vindication of the State from misrepresentation, and a firm and courageous assertion of her rightful position in history, and finally the engendering and cultivating of an intelligent, healthy State pride among the people. If we perform well the task thus allotted to us we will receive, I am sure, the aid and encouragement of the State in our work, and in return we will have rendered to her an incomparable service.

North Carolina Must Preserve its Historical Records

Address by Ex-Governor Thomas J. Jarvis, at the Tenth Annual Session of the Literary and Historical Association, in the Hall of the House of Representatives, at Raleigh, January 12, 1911.

Mr. President, Ladies and Gentlemen:

I am very much touched at the very kind manner in which I have been presented to you and the warm and cordial manner in which you have received that presentation.

As I sat here looking over this audience and around this hall, I have had a struggle with myself to recall my wandering thoughts from the past and concentrate them upon the duty that now lies before me.

This hall has been the scene of so much of my early labors in behalf of my State and her people that instance after instance came trooping back to me. There is one which so much marks the changes that have taken place in the political and social conditions in North Carolina within my recollection that I can not refrain from mentioning it. In that memorable Legislature of '68 and '69, when so much of mischief was done for our State, I had the distinguished honor of representing the county of Tyrrell. My seat in that body was the seat now being occupied by my dear friend Mr. Richard H. Battle. Sitting immediately behind me was a colored man, named Price, from the county of New Hanover, representing the great city of Wilmington. I had noticed him several times, but had paid no particular attention to him. One day I felt a gentle touch on my shoulder and turning, I saw this colored man. He said, "Captain, you do not remember me, do you?" I said, "No, Price, I do not." "Don't you remember," he asked, "the good dinners you used to eat during the war in Lieutenant Price's camp?" "Yes," I replied. Then he said, "I was Colonel Price's cook, and I cooked those dinners for you"; and then added: "Captain Jarvis, when I was cooking for you and Colonel Price you never thought that you and I would be sitting here on an equality, making laws for North Carolina, did you?"

I could talk for an hour of instance after instance that have come under my observation in this hall, but I must desist.

I have a broad field, as announced by the President of this Society, to cover this evening, and you may at the present be just a little bit in doubt as to what I am going to talk about, but I will promise you this—and it is the only promise I will make—that if you will be patient and follow me you will not have any doubt when I get through what I have talked about.

The people of North Carolina have been history makers but not history writers. They have been doers of great things, but they have been criminally careless about the writing of the records and preserving them. I propose, with the permission of your President, to narrate just two or three little instances that illustrate this fact. In 1879, soon after I had the honor of being inaugurated Governor of North Carolina, Col. F. A. Olds, then the Quartermaster-General of the State Guard, who was then, as he is now, always trying to do something for the State, came to me one day and said, "Governor, would you be willing for me to go down to the old arsenal, clean it out, throw away all the old *debris* in it, and fix up the building for the State Guard to preserve the ammunition and arms?" I said, "Fred, I don't know about that; I don't know what is there, but we will walk over there and see." We went into the old arsenal and there found a large number of old knap-sacks, old military clothing of the Kirk-Holden war, large piles of old papers; and there, too, were ballot boxes in which the people had voted at the three-days' election in April, 1868. These ballot boxes had been sent to Charleston, S. C., the votes counted there by General Canby, and then the boxes had been sent back here and put away in that old arsenal. In addition to the old military accouterments and ballot boxes there was more than a wagon load of old papers, documents and manuscripts of all sorts. I said to Colonel Olds, "Fred, get Colonel Saunders to come down here with a servant to help him. You and he can examine these records; whatever he says is worthless you can throw away or destroy." We spoke to Colonel Saunders about it and he consented. Will you believe me when I tell you in that old pile of *debris* they found the original manuscript copy of the Journal of the Halifax Convention, which formed our first State Con-

stitution? You may be curious to know how it got there. I happen to know that.

In 1868 a man named Ashley was elected Superintendent of Public Instruction. He was assigned to the room on the third floor of the west wing of the Capitol. He did not like this room for his office, and he did not want to remain there. At that time the Supreme Court occupied the two rooms now occupied by the Secretary of State, the Secretary of State had the larger of the two rooms now occupied by the Auditor, and the Auditor the smaller one. The Governor and his Council made an order to move Ashley down on the first floor in the office occupied by the Secretary of State, to move the Secretary of State to the Supreme Court room, and to move the Supreme Court up to the garret to the room occupied by Mr. Ashley. Judge Pearson and his associates were very indignant. They appealed to the Legislature, a bill was introduced in the House of Representatives to assign the garret room to Ashley and to allow the court to remain where it was originally, and for twenty-four hours a fierce conflict went on in this hall between the friends of the Supreme Court and the friends of the Educational Department. Finally the Democrats took the side of the Supreme Court and passed the resolution. While that conflict was going on up here, Ashley was busy down in those two offices below moving everything and trying to get possession before we could pass the resolution, and the rotunda of the Capitol was piled up with wagon loads of the records, which had been moved out of the office of the Secretary of State. And after we had passed the resolution, instead of putting those records back where they belonged, they gathered them up and put them in that old arsenal.

Now you, gentlemen of the Legislature, will say that that was bad. Pardon me if I say that you will be just a little less negligent of your duty if you permit the records of North Carolina to be much longer improperly kept over yonder in those firetraps, the Supreme Court and Agricultural buildings. I say you will be but a little less negligent than they were in 1868!

There is another instance that I want to mention. I suppose there is no lover of North Carolina who does not glory in the fact that the State had a loyal, faithful son by the name of Wil-

liam L. Saunders, who compiled and edited the Colonial Records of our State. Let me tell you how he came to undertake that great work. After he had found that old manuscript copy of the Journal of the Halifax Congress down in the old arsenal, he said to me one day, "Governor, isn't there some way that can be devised to enable me to collect the Colonial Records of the Colony of North Carolina and get them together so as to preserve them?" I replied, "I don't know, Saunders, but I will think about it. Come tomorrow and we will talk this matter over." He came and I said, "I will tell you what to do. Write a simple little resolution to this effect: 'That the trustees of the State Library are authorized to take such steps as in their judgment may be necessary to collect and publish the Colonial Records of the Colony of North Carolina.'" Well, he wrote it. I sent for two or three members of the Legislature, handed it to them, and asked them to have that resolution passed. You will find it in the Public Laws—a little resolution it is, in length, but no man can tell how much it cost to carry it out, or the intrinsic, the eternal, the everlasting value of the work now that it is done!

Of course, the Legislature did not inquire into the magnitude of the work or the probable cost, but they were willing to trust the trustees of the State Library, who happened to be myself, Saunders, and Scarborough. After it was passed I said to Colonel Saunders, "I have plenty of my own work to do. You look after this and when you want a meeting of the trustees call it, and understand you always have two votes, yours and mine." And he did. For years and years he worked with a love and a loyalty that few men have ever given to their State. Wounded seriously in the war, disabled from walking by rheumatism contracted in camp, rolled about in a chair, still you could go to his office or to his room and always find him with a pile of those papers around him, going over them and compiling them. He got access to the archives of England and France, through our State Department, and the ministers of these countries accredited to Washington, and whenever the mails brought a batch of those records from abroad or elsewhere, his joy was boundless. He went through them with devotion like one reading a letter from a loved one. In the latter years it was a race with Saunders and disease, but he was spared to complete that work, and left to his

State a monument such as no other man has left. I want to stand here tonight and say that North Carolina never had a more loyal or a more faithful son than the man who compiled those Colonial Records.

The Agricultural Department had been organized, but it had no home, no place to stay. The old hotel property on the corner of Edenton and Halifax streets was advertised for sale. At that time the Governor was Chairman of the Board of Agriculture, and also Chairman of the Executive Committee. I thought the State ought to own that property, so I sent for the members of the Executive Committee—Dr. Kemp P. Battle and Col. T. M. Holt. They came and we bought the property. We had the title taken to the State and for all that property where that old building stands and where the Supreme Court building now stands we paid simply the sum of $13,000. We got an option on the balance of that block, which lies back to the other street, for $7,000. I sent a message to the Legislature informing that body of the purchase and of the then existing option on the balance, and earnestly urged that it be bought. Don't you think they ought to have done it? Don't you think it was very unwise not to have done it? Gentlemen, they did not act any more unwisely than you will be charged with acting if you neglect the opportunity of preserving the records of your State! If a fire should come and consume those records people will say that you acted as unwisely as you are now ready to say your predecessors did at that time!

Now, since we bought that property conditions have changed very much. The State has grown wonderfully in wealth, in business, and in population. New departments have been added to the State government. We then were just beginning to develop the Agricultural Department. The Corporation Commission has since been organized; we now have the Labor Commissioner, the Insurance Commissioner, the Historical Commission, and besides the records of the State have piled up and piled up until every available space in all the offices is now filled, and a large part of them is in places that are subject to be burned and destroyed at any time. Your Supreme Court Library, as I have said, was housed in two small rooms. Go over there now and look at the library and see how it has grown, until today it

is one of the very best law libraries in the South, if not in all this Union. Then, ladies and gentlemen, the State Library was contained in that little room up there in the northeast corner of this Capitol. That was large enough then, but since then the library has increased and multiplied until you now have one of the best libraries of any State in this Union. Here, then, are two libraries that can not be replaced by $100,000, libraries that money could not buy again, because they are not to be had. There they are, exposed to danger of loss by fire. And then all the offices of the State government are overcrowded. The Executive officers of this State have not room in which to discharge their duties properly. Go into the office of the Secretary of State, of the Auditor or in any of the offices here, and you will find that the records of these offices have multiplied and multiplied until there is hardly room for an extra chair in which you can be seated. Of course, the officers can not do their best work under these circumstances.

Now, I say these conditions ought to be changed. The change can only come through the General Assembly of North Carolina. Two ways have been suggested to remedy this. Now, in what I am going to say I want it understood that I am speaking for myself alone. While I am speaking by the kind invitation of this Society, still I may have some views which its members do not endorse. I am speaking for myself alone. I say two ways have been suggested to remedy the conditions I have described—one to enlarge this Capitol, the other to erect a new building. Now, speaking for myself and myself alone, I am opposed to ever touching this Capitol. (Great applause.) It is the one beautiful piece of architecture erected by our fathers. It is the one beautiful great achievement left that links us to the past. There is nothing superior to it. I say let it stand here, and stand forever, as a monument to the men who built it. But there is another reason why I am opposed to changing the Capitol. If you were to enlarge it so as to make room in it for all that is needed, you can not do it without ruining its architectural beauty. This building is just as large as this square will justify. To put a very large building on this square would be out of all proportion of harmony, and would destroy the beauty of both building and square. I say let the square and the building

stand just as they are. Now if that is correct—and I am very glad to see that what I have said has such cordial approval of this audience—then the only other remedy is to erect a new building. Now what I would do if it were left to me is this:

I would take from that square over there the Agricultural Building and the Supreme Court Building. I would clean them off entirely, and upon that square I would put the handsomest State building in the South. In it I would provide room for all the offices and departments of the State, for the Supreme Court, the Supreme Court and the State Libraries, and for the State Museum. I would move everything out of this building and let this building stand here for the legislative department. I would provide in the new building a Supreme Court room that would be amply sufficient for all the growth and purposes of our Supreme Court for ages to come; a library building for our State Library that would be sufficient and ample for ages to come, an executive office for the Governor that would be commensurate with the dignity of that great office. Go down to the Governor's office now; you find no reception room. There is in his private secretary's office only room enough for two or three chairs. So I say, without going into details, I would make in the new building provision for all the executive offices that the State has or is likely to have.

But you would ask me, How are you going to pay for it? That is very simple to me. There are some things that I am an old fogy about, and I can't help it to save my life. I was born that way. I have lived that way, and I expect to die that way. One is that I do not believe that any government has any right to tax the coming generations for its daily support. I think the government of North Carolina ought to live within its means. I think it ought to levy taxes enough upon the property of the State to meet all its current expenses in the way of paying its officers and supporting its institutions of all kinds. I repeat, I do not think that we have any right to levy tribute upon the coming generations for our daily expenses and support, nor, on the other hand, do I think that we have a right to levy burdens upon this generation to pay for things to be enjoyed by the coming generations. I think one is just as bad as the other. Now, when you come to analyze it, and sift it down into plain

language, that means this—that for the support of our institutions and to meet the current expenses of the State government, we ought to do that out of the taxes we levy and collect out of the people; but when it comes to permanent buildings, I don't care what they are, when it comes to erecting buildings that are to be used and enjoyed by the coming generations, those generations ought to help pay for them.

Now may I indulge in another little instance to show that this is no new theory of mine? If you will look into the laws of 1883 you will find a law something like this: "That if in the opinion of the Governor and his council at the beginning of 1884, there is money enough in the treasury to run the State for that year, no taxes should be collected." At that time we had in the treasury $400,000 or $500,000 surplus, and as a result of other legislation we had reason to believe that we should get $600,000 more. So we began the year of 1884 with $1,000,000 surplus in the treasury. Some men wanted to use it to buy up the bonds of the State. I said: "No, those bonds do not mature for 25 or 30 years. Let's not invest that money in them. Let those people take care of that themselves, but let us use this money this year. For days and days we fought that question out, and finally adopted the suggestion I made, and a thing happened in 1884 that is not likely ever to happen again, there was not one penny of tax collected in 1884 from property to run the State government. I refer to that to show that this is no new theory of mine. So I say when we come to erect buildings that are to be enjoyed by us and the coming generations also, let the coming generations help pay for them. I suppose it would cost nearly a million dollars. I am going to assume it can not be done for less. I say, issue one million dollars of bonds and build it.

Now, ladies and gentlemen, I have followed the Scriptural injunction: "What one of you that desire to erect a building would not sit down and first count the cost." I want to tell you now what it is going to cost annually. Issue one million dollars of bonds at four per cent, the annual interest will be $40,000. The census states there are over two millions of people in North Carolina, so if you will distribute the annual expense of this building out among the people, every man, woman, and

child, it would be less than two cents apiece. But you say it can not be done that way; taxes must be levied on the property. All right. The Auditor tells us that the assessed value of the property at its low rate of assessment is $613,000,000. On this the tax would be two-thirds of one cent. On $1,000 worth of property it would be 6 2-3 cents, on $10,000, 66 2-3 cents. A man who gives in $10,000 worth of property for taxation would be paying 66 2-3 cents to preserve and keep safe the valuable property of his State. On the $100,000 of property he would pay $6.66 2-3, and I suppose if a man gives in $100,000 worth of property at the present rate of valuation, it is pretty safe to assume he is worth a quarter of a million. So that the citizen with a quarter of a million dollars would be paying to preserve the records and property of his State but $6.66 2-3 a year.

Now, gentlemen, there it is. I have given you a low and imperfect estimate of the value of the property to be preserved on the one hand, and the actual cost to the taxpayer on the other hand to preserve it. What will you do about it? The Literary and Historical Association, presided over by my distinguished friend, is at work. The Historical Commission joins them, and the Historical Departments in the University and the colleges unite with them in rescuing and preserving the precious records of our State. The women are organizing their societies to aid in the holy crusade to honor the deeds of our fathers. Our people are stirring themselves as never before in collecting the records of our ancestors, and they are being piled up and piled up and piled up. Will the Legislature alone hesitate in the discharge of its duty? Can it hesitate to provide a safe place for the keeping of the records of the State? I come, ladies and gentlemen, to join you with all the fervor and earnestness of my soul in pressing upon this Legislature the importance of at least making the beginning, and I trust that there will be no conflicts as to the details or anything that shall retard the work, but that every man in and out of the Legislature, who believes that something should be done to preserve this property of ours, unite in their efforts to make a start. It seems to me it would be well to appoint a commission of good, practical men who can be trusted, and leave it to them to work out the details for the erection of such a building.

There are two things I would not have put in that building. I would not have any cheap gingerbread work, or any graft about it. I would erect a building there that for its simple grandeur should be an honor to North Carolina and the pride of all her people.

Americans feel and talk differently from any other people in the world. Some years ago upon one of our National anniversaries in one of the harbors on our Atlantic coast, the warships of all civilized nations of the earth assembled, and men from all the corners of the earth came to see them. Those great warships moved up in majestic splendor to be viewed by the great multitude. When the ships of England passed by the Englishmen standing there said, "There go the ships of his Majesty the King of England." When the German ships passed by the Germans standing there said, "There go the ships of his Majesty, the Emperor of Germany." When the Spanish ships passed by the Spaniards said, "There go the ships of his Majesty, the King of Spain." By and by when the American ships came along, an American, a little fellow from the mountains of Western North Carolina, cried out, "There go our ships." Everything here in America is ours. It is our Governor, it is our Supreme Court. I would have such a building erected in this Capital City of ours that when the people of North Carolina come here to attend the inauguration of their Governor, when the people come to attend the great State Fair, and see that building, there would not be a man from the ocean to the mountains who would not say with pride, "There is our State building."

Ladies and gentlemen, North Carolina is entitled to the very best of everything; she is amply able to have the best, and I appeal to her loyal sons and daughters to decree that she shall have the best.

North Carolina Bibliography of the Year

Paper Presented by Dr. D. H. Hill at Afternoon Session, January 12, 1911.

As far as I have been able to collect them the North Carolina books for the year number 37 titles. These may be grouped as follows: I, History; II, Biography; III, Poetry; IV, Fiction; V, Religious Books; VI, Text Books; VII, Miscellaneous.

I. HISTORY.

1. Reprint of Bricknell's "Natural History of North Carolina," printed in 1737; 417 pages. Edited by J. Bryan Grimes.

2. Abstract of North Carolina Wills from 1663 to 1789; 428 pages, and also alphabetical list of names. Edited by J. Bryan Grimes.

3. History of New Hanover County, by Alfred Moore Waddell; cloth; illustrated; 232 pages.

4. Caldwell County in the Great War of 1861-5; illustrated; cloth, 67 pages. Edited by G. W. F. Harper.

5. The James Sprunt Historical Publications, Vol. 9, continued: (a) Federalism in North Carolina, by H. M. Wagstaff; (b) Letters of William Barry Grove. Edited by H. M. Wagstaff.

6. The Booklet, edited by Miss Mary Hilliard Hinton, published in its four numbers this year some valuable historical papers. Mrs. E. E. Moffitt has contributed 36 biographical sketches to these volumes.

7. England and the French Revolution, by W. T. Loprade; seven chapters; cloth; 230 pages. Johns Hopkins Press.

II. BIOGRAPHY.

1. Cornelius Harnett, by R. D. W. Connor; cloth; 11 chapters; 209 pages. Edwards & Broughton Publishing Company.

2. The Bishops of North Carolina, by Marshall DeLancey Haywood; cloth; illustrated; 270 pages. A. Williams & Co., Raleigh.

3. Autobiography of Brantley York, edited by William K. Boyd for the John Lawson Monographs of the Trinity College Historical Society; cloth; 139 pages.

4. Julia Jackson Christian: A Memorial Sketch of General Stonewall Jackson's Daughter, by Mrs. Mary Anna Jackson; cloth; illustrated; 57 pages. Stone & Barringer Company.

5. Franklin Plato Eller and John Carlton Eller: A Memorial Volume, by J. B. Hubbell; illustrated; cloth; 245 pages.

6. Eugene Morehead Armfield: A Memorial Volume, by George F. Kirby; 46 pages.

III. POETRY.

1. Leaves of Life, by Samuel Harley Lyle, Jr.; cloth; 70 poems; 90 pages. The McGregor Publishing Company, Athens, Ga.

2. Gates of Twilight, by Henry E. Harman; cloth; illustrated; 33 poems; 134 pages. The Stone & Barringer Publishing Company, Charlotte.

3. Songs of the Quiet Hour, by Mary Hoyland Livermore; paper cover; 50 pages. The Edwards & Broughton Printing Company.

IV. FICTION.

1. Chaney's Stratagem, by Mrs. Harriet Courtney Pinnix; cloth; 314 pages. C. M. Clark Publishing Company, New York.

2. Tar Heel Tales, by H. E. C. Bryant; cloth; illustrated; 18 stories; 218 pages. The Stone & Barringer Company, Charlotte.

3. The Breed and the Pasture, by J. L. Chambers; cloth. The Stone & Barringer Company, Charlotte.

4. Bildad Akers, by Thomas N. Ivey; cloth; 18 chapters; 205 pages. Mutual Publishing Company, Raleigh.

5. Strength of the Weak, by Mrs. M. B. Thacker; 12 mo. Broadway Publishing Company, New York.

V. RELIGIOUS BOOKS.

1. The Indispensable Book, by William Walter Moore, now of Union Seminary; cloth; 114 pages. Fleming H. Revell & Co., New York.

2. Thoughts Promotive of the Higher Life, by Wiley Good-

man Riddick; cloth; 49 chapters; 279 pages. Edwards & Broughton Printing Company.

3. Lectures on the Book of Revelation, by W. C. Nowell; cloth; 191 pages. Edwards & Broughton Printing Company.

VI. TEXT BOOKS.

1. The Howell Primer, by Logan D. Howell; cloth; 127 pages. Hinds, Noble & Eldredge.

2. Reading in Public Schools, by Thomas H. Briggs and L. D. Coffman, 25 chapters; 274 pages. Row, Peterson & Co., Chicago.

3. Patillo's Geographical Catechism, a reprint of the Rev. Henry Patillo's book which was published in 1796. This book, consisting of 62 pages, was edited by N. W. Walker and M. C. S. Noble for the University Reprint Series.

4. Diseases of Economic Plants by Frank Lincoln Stevens and John G. Hill; illustrated; 513 pages. Macmillan Company.

5. Our Republic, a United States History for grammar grades, by J. G. deRoulhac Hamilton and J. A. C. Chandler; cloth; 500 pages. Riley & Sadler, publishers.

VII. MISCELLANEOUS.

1. Interpreters of Life and the Modern Spirit, by Archibald Henderson; cloth; illustrated; 8 vo. Duckworth & Co., London.

2. Race Distinctions in American Law, by Gilbert T. Stephenson; cloth; 12 chapters; 388 pages. D. Appleton & Co., New York.

3. The Lantern of Diogenes, by N. B. Herring. E. M. Uzzell & Co., Raleigh.

4. The Jew a Negro, by Arthur T. Abernethy; cloth; 110 pages. Dixie Publishing Company, Moravian Falls.

5. David G. McDuffie's Discovery of Natural Cause for the Variation of the Magnetic Needle of the Compass, edited by W. A. Guthrie; cloth; 36 pages. Seeman, Durham.

6. Military Topography, by C. O. Sherrill; cloth; illustrated; maps; 346 pages.

7. Idealism in Education, by Herman Harrell Horne; cloth; 5 chapters; 183 pages. Macmillan Company, New York.

8. Twenty volumes Annotated Reprints of the Supreme Court Reports, by Chief Justice Walter Clark.

Minutes of Twelfth Annual Meeting

Minutes of the Twelfth Annual Session of the State Literary and Historical Association

THE Twelfth Annual Session of the State Literary and Historical Association, the first session of which was held in Raleigh's beautiful new Auditorium Monday evening, November 27, 1911, proved to be the most notable in the entire history of the organization, both from the standpoint of attendance and interest.

The opening prayer was offered by Rev. Dr. I. McK. Pittenger, of the Church of the Good Shepherd, Raleigh, N. C., after which President Edward K. Graham delivered the annual address, his subject being "Prosperity and Patriotism." This address is published in full elsewhere in this report.

Following the address of the President came a musical selection by the band of the State School for the Blind, after which President Graham introduced Dr. C. Alphonso Smith, a former President of the State Literary and Historical Association, who has since achieved distinction at the University of Virginia and as Roosevelt Professor in the University of Berlin. In introducing Dr. Smith President Graham said:

It is my pleasure to present rather than introduce a former President of the Association; a citizen of this State, who lived and worked with us, who loved us and was greatly loved by us. Since he left us the merit of his scholarship has carried him as ambassador to the highest court of the world's learning and there fixed him securely as a permanent figure in the world's affairs. However successfully North Carolina succeeds in concealing her regret at the departure of her men of distinction, she makes no effort to conceal her happiness at having them return, and so to you, sir, to whom we trust we shall ever be "mine own people," our hearts in strength of brothers' welcome bid you welcome home—Dr. C. Alphonso Smith of the University of Virginia.

Dr. Smith's subject was "What Should a State History for the Public Schools Contain?" This address will also be found in full elsewhere in this volume.

Following Dr. Smith's address Mrs. Horace Dowell sang "Prayer Recit and Aria from Der Freischutz," Miss Sadie Duncan accompanying her at the piano.

The evening session was brought to a close with the feature that probably excites keener interest as a rule than any other part of the annual program—the presentation of the Patterson Memorial Cup, awarded each year to "that resident of the State who, during the twelve months from September 1st of the previous year to September 1st of the year of the award, has displayed, either in prose or poetry, without regard to its length, the greatest excellence and highest literary skill and genius." Senator Lee S. Overman, of Salisbury, presented the report for the Committee, which consists of "the President of the State Literary and Historical Association, the occupants of the chairs of English Literature at the University of North Carolina, at Davidson College, at Wake Forest College, and at the State A. and M. College at Raleigh, and of the chairs of History at the University of North Carolina and at Trinity College."

It was no surprise to the audience when Senator Overman announced that the cup had been awarded to Dr. Archibald Henderson, of the State University, in recognition of the excellence of his three books published since the previous meeting of the Association: "Interpreters of Life," "Mark Twain," and "George Bernard Shaw: His Life and Works."

In accepting the cup Dr. Henderson said:

> It gives me very real pleasure to express to you, Mr. Spokesman, and through you to the Committee of Award, my hearty thanks for the distinction of its imprimatur. And, in a more general sense, to express to the people of North Carolina my sincerest felicitations upon the efforts now everywhere going forward to assist in giving to this Old North State its true and definitive place within the charmed circle of literature and of art. Any contribution I may have made to that end, either at home or abroad, has been made in the name, and for the sake, of old North Carolina.

AFTERNOON SESSION OF THE STATE LITERARY AND HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION.

At the afternoon session of the State Literary and Historical Association, November 28th, held in the Hall of the House of Representatives, Dr. D. H. Hill, President of the State A. and M. College first presented the North Carolina bibliography of the year, after which Mr. R. D. W. Connor, of the State His-

torical Commission, gave a report of the State's historical activities since the preceding meeting of the Association. Both papers are published in full in this volume.

Another feature of the session was the report of Dr. Edwin Mims, Chairman of the Lecture Extension Committee of the Association. In part Dr. Mims said:

To give a concrete example of what might be done to carry out the ideas suggested a year ago, a series of three lectures on American Literature was given by the chairman of this committee at Winston-Salem in the spring. A central committee composed of representatives of all organizations was appointed to arrange for giving the lectures under the best possible circumstances. Two of the lectures were given at the High School Auditorium, and one at Salem College, the audiences ranging from 200 to 350. The lecturer had an hour each day for consultation with such as desired suggestions on courses of reading either for individuals or clubs. He furnished the newspapers of the town a bibliography relating to the various subjects treated. Some thirty new members of the State Literary and Historical Association were secured.

Soon after this demonstration of what might be done in a specific community by a representative of this Association, the Secretary of the Association sent out letters to the presidents of the various institutions of higher learning in the State, asking their coöperation in extending the work and influence of the Association. The responses to these letters were most gratifying, for in every case there was a definite endorsement of the idea and an expression of a willingness to coöperate.

The Association has promises of courses of lectures from President Poteat and Professor Sikes of Wake Forest; President Few and Professor Brooks of Trinity; President Smith and Professor Fulton of Davidson; President Hill of the A. & M. College; and Professors Graham and Mims of the University.

So far the response from the public has not been so marked as might have been hoped. Necessarily there is some confusion as to just what is contemplated. There have been some communities that have voluntarily made inquiries of the Secretary or the chairman. There are others with whom correspondence has not as yet reached definite conclusions. But it may now be definitely stated that within the next few weeks or months series of lectures under the auspices of this Association will be given in Goldsboro, Raleigh, Winston-Salem, Washington, Wilson, and New Bern.

Necessarily plans are as yet tentative. A good suggestion has been made by the committee appointed by Trinity College—that the lectures crystallize in a definite movement in the various communities to preserve local records and other materials of permanent

historical interest. All such suggestions will be carefully worked out. Different lecturers will emphasize different ideas, but in each case there ought to be made every possible effort to get definite results. We are of the opinion that some man or woman, who is in sympathetic relationship with all the higher institutions of the State, and who knows local conditions well, should be put in charge of this work and should push it aggressively and constructively.

A number of brief talks on subjects related to the work of the Association followed and four resolutions bearing on these were adopted as follows:

I.

Be it Resolved, That the Association continue the Committee on Vance Statue, Mr. R. H. Battle, chairman, with the request that they endeavor to secure the erection of the monument in Statuary Hall at the earliest possible moment.

II.

Resolved, That this Association heartily commends the proposed movement to place markers on the North Carolina section of the "Boone Trail," the historic highway over which the members of Judge Richard Henderson's colony were conducted to what is now the State of Kentucky.

III.

Be it Resolved, That the President of the State Literary and Historical Association shall appoint each year a committee on marking historic sites, a committee on library extension, a committee on lecture extension work, and a committee on increasing the membership of the Association.

IV.

Resolved, That this Association heartily endorses the movement inaugurated by the R. F. Hoke Chapter of the Daughters of the Confederacy to erect an adequate memorial to the gallantry of the North Carolina troops at Gettysburg.

At the conclusion of this "business session" the members of the Association present attended an informal reception given by the Woman's Club of Raleigh.

EVENING SESSION. TUESDAY, NOVEMBER 28, 1911.

A great audience greeted the distinguished guest of the Association, Honorable Henry Cabot Lodge, of Massachusetts, historian and man of letters, at the concluding session of the State Literary and Historical Association. Senator Lodge had

been invited by vote of the members of the Association. He was introduced to the audience by Hon. Robert W. Winston, a former President of the State Literary and Historical Association, in the following words:

Members of the North Carolina Literary and Historical Association.

Ladies and Gentlemen:—To the man who lives by ideals, no spot in America appeals quite so strongly as Boston, with its Faneuil Hall, its "here Warren fell"; its "perpetual dissatisfaction with things that perpetually fall short of a high and perfect ideal." When we contemplate a Josiah Quincy taking the very jackets off the Board of Governors of Harvard College and in a public address fearlessly declaring that the curriculum of that institution was a flat failure and had destroyed the careers of thousands of young men by its fetish-like adherence to the obsolete educational systems of a discredited age; or, when we consider John Quincy Adams, single handed and alone, whipping to a frazzle the aristocratic and powerful commercial interests of New England—whether for greed and gain they servilely bent their necks to the yoke of British tyrant or stifled their consciences to favor a continuance of slavery in the South; when we view these and other more modern exhibitions of freedom of speech and of life, we can but believe that after awhile "that collective voice of the national understanding which alone can give back to us a peaceful and assured conviction will indeed be heard." This is what Matthew Arnold would call living by ideals. "When one side of a question has long had your earnest support, when all your feelings are engaged, when you hear all around you no language but one, when your party talks this language like a steam engine and can imagine no other, still to be able to think, still to be irresistibly carried—if so it be—by the concert of thought to the opposite side of the question and like Balaam to be unable to speak anything but what the Lord has put in your mouth"—this, if I interpret Boston aright, this is Boston.

In 1829 William Wirt made his first and only visit to Boston, partaking of the generous hospitality of Adams and Webster and Story and Otis, and when, taking his leave of the vivacious daughter of his open-handed host of the evening, he gallantly stooped and imprinted a kiss upon her soft and youthful hand, do you wonder that all his prejudices against the "Yankees" vanished into thin air and that in the ecstacy of his satisfaction he wrote his friend, Judge Cabell, of Virginia, "A Boston gentleman is every whit as good as a Virginia gentleman." High praise from a gentleman living in Virginia—that mountain of conceit which bounds our modest old State on the north, even as South Carolina—that other mountain of conceit—shuts it in on the south.

Gentlemen, Massachusetts and North Carolina have had their differences, but they have fought them out like men, and now they are brothers. The great North and the great and dominant party is in our midst and meeting our people face to face. We bid them welcome—thrice welcome. Let us now hear the man who more nearly than any other, by heredity and education, embodies the highest ideals of New England life and character—the scholar and the statesman—the defender of his ultimate convictions, unafraid—Henry Cabot Lodge, of Boston.

Senator Lodge then delivered his address, his subject being "The Constitution and Its Makers." He held the rapt attention of his great audience for an hour and forty-five minutes, his ability and eloquence charming those who disagreed with him as well as those who endorsed his contentions. Senator Lodge's address appears in full in this report and has also been printed as an official document by the United States Senate, 15,000 copies having been ordered published for general distribution throughout the country.

In addition to Senator Lodge's speech several musical numbers of unusual excellence added to the charm of the evening program, these being as follows:

Piano Solo—Tarantelle Op. 27, No. 2.....*Moszkowski*
MISS ELLA DORROH.

Violin Solo—(*a*) Romance .....*Sinding*
(*b*) Serenade, Op. 4.....*D'Ambrosio*
MISS BLANCHE L. CRAFTS; MISS LUNEY at piano.

Hon. F. A. Woodard, of Wilson, Chairman of the Committee on Nominations, then made his report recommending as officers for the ensuing year the following:

R. D. W. CONNOR, *President.*
A. C. AVERY, W. P. FEW, MISS LIDA T. RODMAN, *Vice-Presidents.*
CLARENCE POE, *Secretary-Treasurer.*

No other nominations were offered and the foregoing officers were then elected by acclamation.

President Graham then declared the Twelfth Annual Session of the State Literary and Historical Association adjourned.

Social Features

No record of this session of the State Literary and Historical Association would be complete without mention of the several social features which gave the meetings unique distinction and charm.

Most notable among these social features was the brilliant reception given by Hon. and Mrs. Robert W. Winston, at the Yarborough House, immediately following the conclusion of the evening session November 28. A fuller account of this reception appeared in the *News and Observer* of November 29th, and is appended to this report.

The Association is also under obligations to the progressive and hospitable members of the Woman's Club for their delightful reception Monday afternoon, November 27th. Those in the receiving line were: Mrs. W. A. Withers and Mrs. Bowen at the door; Mrs. James Litchford, Chairman of Entertainment Committee; Mrs. Thomas P. Harrison, President of the Club; Miss Fannie E. S. Heck, Miss Rosa Broughton, Mrs. W. N. Hutt, Mrs. Paul Lee, Mrs. Charles McKimmon, Mrs. V. C. Royster, Miss Edith Royster, Mrs. Jaques Busbee, and Mrs. W. E. Shipp.

In concluding this formal record of the proceedings of the twelfth annual sessions it should be stated that never before has there been such hearty coöperation on the part of all Raleigh interests in making the meeting a success. Liberal citizens of the town subscribed an entertainment fund to defray the cost of the hall, carriages and automobiles for speakers, etc. The city gave the use of its new Auditorium, the Association paying only for the expense of heating and lighting. The Woman's Club of Raleigh gave hearty coöperation both by developing interest in the meetings and in tendering an informal reception. Prof. Wade R. Brown generously gave his time in arranging the musical program, to whose success the Band of the State School for the Blind, Mrs. Horace Dowell, Miss Sadie Duncan, Miss Ella Dorroh, Miss Blanche L. Crafts, Miss Luney, all contributed; and Mr. Virgil J. Lee and his corps of ushers deserve thanks for their efficient handling of the large crowds at the evening sessions.

Clarence Poe, *Secretary.*

RECEPTION WAS BRILLIANT EVENT.

JUDGE AND MRS. R. W. WINSTON IN HONOR OF THE STATE LITERARY AND HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION—STATE'S MOST BRILLIANT SOCIAL FUNCTION GIVEN LAST NIGHT AT THE NEW YARBOROUGH HOTEL, WHERE THE SCENE WAS A MOST FASCINATING ONE—GUESTS FROM ALL SECTIONS OF THE STATE.

(*News and Observer*, November 29, 1911.)

The scene was a most brilliant and fascinating one last night at the reception given by ex-Judge and Mrs. Robert W. Winston, of Raleigh, in honor of the State Literary and Historical Association, there being present its members and specially invited guests. The event proved to be one of the most, if not the most brilliant social function ever given in Raleigh or the State, and was enjoyed by fully five hundred guests.

The reception was given on the second floor of the new Yarborough Hotel, the parlors and halls decorated in pine, ferns and white chrysanthemums, the attractiveness of the hotel fittings and arrangements enhanced by these. The reception line, a long one in which were many men and women of note, was in the spacious hall overlooking the lobby, and in the lobby below an orchestra rendered attractive music. Brilliant lights gleamed, handsomely gowned women moved about, there was the hum of social converse, and happiness reigned. The assemblage was one of guests from all sections of the State, numbers from out of the State, and no more delightful reception has ever been enjoyed in Raleigh. In giving it, Judge and Mrs. Winston not alone extended a most enjoyable reception to the members of the State Literary and Historical Association, but their gracious hospitality included specially invited guests. On all sides could be heard congratulatory remarks concerning Judge Winston, a former President of the Association, and his wife, and the first of the social functions given in honor of the Association.

During the hours of the reception, which lasted from 10 o'clock till 12, delicious refreshments were served, fruit punch, a salad course, an ice cream course, and coffee. The many ladies who were in charge in serving did this most happily, the guests being served in parlors and in the halls.

In the receiving line were Judge and Mrs. Robert W. Winston, United States Senator Henry Cabot Lodge, of Massachusetts, the speaker of the evening at the meeting of the State Literary and Historical Association; United States Senator Lee S. Overman, of Salisbury, and his daughter, Mrs. Edwin C. Gregory, of Salisbury; Dr. and Mrs. Archibald Henderson, of Chapel Hill; Mr. and Mrs. William Sinclair Manning, of Spartanburg, S. C.; Dr. Edwin Mims,

of the State University; Mrs. William E. Shipp, of Raleigh; Mrs. Lindsay Patterson, of Winston-Salem; Dr. E. K. Graham, of the State University; Mrs. Jennie W. Overman, of Salisbury; Dr. C. Alphonso Smith, of the University of Virginia; Associate Justice of the Supreme Court Platt D. Walker and Mrs. Walker; Mrs. E. E. Moffitt, of Richmond, Va.; Bishop and Mrs. Joseph Blount Cheshire; President Howard Rondthaler, of Salem Female College, and Mrs. Rondthaler; President W. L. Poteat, of Wake Forest College, and Mrs. Poteat; Dr. D. H. Hill, of the A. & M. College, and Mrs. Hill; Mr. and Mrs. F. B. Webb, of Durham; Miss Mary Hilliard Hinton, of Raleigh; Dr. and Mrs. T. P. Harrison, of Raleigh; Mr. and Mrs. R. D. W. Connor, of Raleigh; Miss Eliza Pool, of Raleigh; Miss Edith Royster, of Raleigh; Mr. Clarence Poe, of Raleigh; Mr. and Mrs. W. J. Peele, of Raleigh.

The guests were received in the red parlor by Col. and Mrs. John W. Hinsdale, Col. and Mrs. Charles E. Johnson, Col. and Mrs. Ed. Chambers Smith, Rev. and Mrs. Milton A. Barber, and in the hall by Mr. and Mrs. Charles Root, Dr. and Mrs. Patterson, Mr. and Mrs. Cruikshank, Mr. and Mrs. Jaques Busbee, and Mrs. Ellanor Lyon, of New York.

In the punch room delicious fruit punch was served by Mr. and Mrs. Robert C. Strong, Dr. and Mrs. Hubert A. Royster, Miss Annie Root, and Miss Kathryn Horner, of Oxford.

In charge of the salad course were Mrs. R. H. Jones, Miss Bessie Smedes Leak, Miss Dowd, Miss Eleanor Mann, Miss Lucy Moore, Miss Sue Kitchin, Miss Mary Grimes Cooper, Miss Pearl Heck, Miss Pickel, Miss Emmie Haywood, and Miss Adeline Barbee.

In charge of the ice cream course were Dr. and Mrs. A. W. Knox, Miss Amy Winston, Miss Ann McKimmon, Miss Elizabeth Thompson, Miss Jean Clark, Miss Alice Aycock, and Miss Alston Dargan.

Prosperity and Patriotism

ADDRESS OF PRESIDENT EDWARD K. GRAHAM AT TWELFTH ANNUAL MEETING OF THE STATE LITERARY AND HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION, NOVEMBER 27, 1911.

No perfunctory word of thanks can express to the membership of this Society my gratitude for the honor that your generosity has conferred upon me during the past year. To serve a society dedicated to the mission of patriotism, and confirmed in that mission by ten years of patriotic achievement, is an honor that no pretense of self-confidence will let me enjoy without misgiving. My gratitude is sincere, though I confess that it is somewhat ashamed.

It is my purpose tonight to speak on "Patriotism and Prosperity." In what I shall say I shall call your attention to the prosperous North Carolina of today, and our patriotic relation to it; and if my voice lacks the authority adequately to answer the simple but tremendous question I propose, I shall accomplish my purpose if I can put the question into your minds; for the relation between prosperity and patriotism must, in our present situation, be our preëminent concern.

And if it be thought that to avoid the obvious difficulties of looking at present things as they are, I mean to devote myself to criticising things that I do not like, I hasten to correct that impression. Looking at North Carolina as she is I find my heart set tonight to a different tune. Too many genuinely good things invite judgment, too many that inspire hope and confidence to the very furthest reaches of patriotic faith, to suggest either vainglorious boasting or destructive criticism. Whatever is wrong in the complex problems with which we are so fortunate as to be confronted, and whoever is wrong on the questions on what North Carolinians are so fortunate as to differ, this much is squarely and fairly true: that the present moment in our State life carries more inspiration for the active enjoyment of constructive citizenship than any that the State has known before.

The main reason for this feeling of stimulation is clear. We have fought life's great necessary battle—the battle to make a decent and prosperous living—and we have won. There are plenty of economic difficulties still to overcome, but the sense of fear and worry is gone, the weariness is gone, the load has fallen from our back; and the average North Carolinian of today with straight shoulders and keen eyes looks at the world unafraid, confident that he can win material success to the limit of his ambition right here at home. And a tremendous thing that is to feel. In spite of nine cent cotton and financial doubt in the country at large, the news has been heralded abroad that North Carolina is coming into a magnificent legacy of material prosperity, and men in joy and confidence are writing over the rugged face of the State the epic of successful work.

But in a more vital way than this constructive materialism has North Carolina achieved success that has brought civic stimulus and elation. Along with this individual success she has in the past ten years somewhat achieved the idea of community success through coöperation. Scarcely a town in the State has failed to have its community spirit take fire from its constructive materialism: town slogans, electric "Welcomes," chambers of commerce, civic committees of every sort give evidence that prosperity has developed the joyful sense of coöperative patriotism. In the State at large prosperity has patriotically achieved not only the public school system, but the department of health and hygiene, of public roads, historical and library commissions, and numerous civic and betterment associations. It has developed for this effort to make the State a healthy and habitable home, its most competent leadership: aggressive, efficient, almost inspired by just the power of this thought of constructive communityism.

Is this as far as we can go, or has patriotism a profounder work to do, other lines on which to work, other leaders to develop in a time of prosperous peace? In 1861 patriotism was exalted by the supreme sacrifice of every physical thing; in 1870 it was exalted by sacrifice not less supreme and courageous. What is its mission in North Carolina in 1911 when men are making money, and the happiness of citizens is not greatly interfered with by fighting for anything except success in busi-

ness? Domestic tranquillity is assured, there is no need of the common defense. Can a man have a prosperous business on Fayetteville Street and still have a mission of progressively achieving, and with high devotion, all of those blessings of liberty for which his fathers gave "the last full measure of devotion"?

Here we meet the oldest of personal and national problems: Can we translate prosperity into greatly permanent terms? To digest material prosperity, government of the people confronts a problem as difficult as the problem of science when confronted with gravitation, Judaism when confronted with Christ, monarchy when confronted with America.

Moralists advise us to avoid this threat of prosperity by despising money; culture tells us to seek freedom of the spirit by despising work. But we go on working; we go on making money. We somehow doubt the efficacy of seeking perfection on an empty stomach. We are impelled forward not because we do not want perfection, but because as a free and equal people we seek perfection through work, as surely as the Hebrews sought it through religion, the Romans through law, the Greeks through art.

Clearly we are going on, making as good a living as we can, building great businesses and great cities, achieving material success in terms that the world has not known before. I can not hope to suggest what I conceive this statement to mean for our State. We have scarcely begun this great commonwealth-construction. America, we are told, will one day be the home of 800,000,000 people. Consider in these terms this North Carolina of the future now in the making! Will it be able to assimilate its gigantic share of this regal wealth of successful workers? Will our civilization perpetuate its buoyancy, its confidence, its progress, or will it, like China, eat out its life and heart of hope? Right now we are facing great problems of taxation, of race, of corporate control, of city government. What magnitude these will assume the present conflict in the nation between government and business merely suggests.

The mission of patriotism was never higher, its opportunity never more magnificent, than in this formative period of prosperity. Its ultimate test is its ability to develop the whole life

of the people as individuals—whether the business man on Fayetteville Street is to be merely a business man, or Man-in-Business. The justice, beneficence, beauty and success of North Carolina depends ultimately and altogether on the presence of these qualities in the life of the individual North Carolinian. To master this constructive materialism, to translate this prosperity becoming more and more triumphant, patriotism urges every citizen to consecrate himself to achieving as a part of his constructive civic program a constructive idealism.

From the point of view, then, of this formative prosperity, patriotism means above all things else a profoundly genuine faith. It means faith in these things we are doing as fine and worthy things; it means faith in ourselves who are doing them; it means faith in the race of men, and our ability to incorporate into our lives the principles that have made for their progress.

The Apostle Paul, who knew the life of money-changing Jerusalem as well as that of Athens, marks the supreme need in the daily work of a free people when he says: "That was first which is natural, and afterward that which is spiritual." He suggests no apology for the industrial structure of our prosperity, but he insists on its balance, on its ideal interstructure. It is just with this present business of ours that we have to deal, not to discard it as unworthy, but to translate it into worthy life. Patriotism urges us to have faith in it; to have faith in the men who are concerned in making it; the motives and capacities of our fellow North Carolinians, the active stuff of life that we have on hand—our contemporaries in the factories, on the farms, in the market place. Patriotism urges us to take abounding inspiration from a faithful view of the possibilities of progress in the activities in which we are engaged. It emphasizes not our competitions and dissensions, but our unities, reminding us that we grow on our appreciations, our admirations, our affections. A patriotic voice of sincerity and sympathy can, through civic faith, translate the life of any town, however mean and sordid, from impotence into power.

And so in State life. In organizing an admirable social life here, threatened as we are by personal ambitions, jealousies, party antagonisms, slowly dissolving poverty and its prejudices, and material success and its prejudices, patriotism urges us to

submit ourselves joyfully to the works of unity, to the challenges to devotion, to the energizing virtues and ideals that are even more truly North Carolina's: her ideal home, her unrivalled stock, her noble traditions.

Patriotism makes potent in dealing with the garish problems of today the ideals of her past: the thought not only that her blood and spirit made great a nation across the sea, but that her blood had the hardihood to leave the nation, and as "a community so humble that no statesman condescended to notice it, reduced the wildest theories of civilization to practice"; and in addition to this vision of truth, caught a vision of righteousness by which that government steadily progressed; and in addition to this caught a vision of sacrifice by which in a war of exalted heroism she left immortal testimony of her bravery on every battlefield. Patriotism finds in these memories of her days of trial faith that she can as highly interpret the conditions of her present prosperity.

But patriotism in a prosperous State goes further than faith in its own activities, in its own contemporaries, and in its own history: it has faith in the race of men as capable of further and continued progress toward perfection. It catches a temper of loyal inspiration for its present effort, from its knowledge of what other nations have found good, in the ability of the people to know the permanently good and to choose it. It, therefore, has faith not only in what the men of today find good, but where that is short of completeness it would balance it and glorify it by unifying it with permanent standards. Wherever men have achieved fair memorials of progress, in whatever time or field or country, patriotism would find and follow and diffuse the principles of that progress. And in its review of history, the successes and bankruptcies of prosperity, patriotism finds no confusion. There is everywhere the same clear, simple judgment of history. I give it in the commonplace sentence of Bolingbroke: "Patriotism must be founded on great principles and virtues in the life of the people." Otherwise it becomes dead formalism. Religion forgets God and becomes Pharisaism and the letter of the law; democracy and prosperous commerce forget the people and depend on the machinery of legislation; identify progress with population, waterpowers, railways, sky-

scrapers, the opening of canals. These do not make a State great nor make men greatly love their State. "They are powerless until they give themselves to the reinforcement of those human qualities of which any real State life is made, and make the nation more just, more upright, more generous, more free, more love inspiring. They may do that. It is within the power of a nation as of a man to grow greater with every dollar added to its wealth; but a dollar is powerless" until it joins itself to whole principles of life and passes into character. The character of a free people must assimilate its prosperity, as it forms, into the life of the people. And this is ultimately and simply what patriotism is in the life of a prosperous State: it is giving a welcome in the State life to all of those things, material and spiritual, which have the right to enter into it and dominate it.

As to what these principles are there is again no confusion. They have the simplicity and grandeur of all elemental truth. Paul, the apostle of the people, calls them, "Whatsoever things are true, whatsoever things are elevated, whatsoever things are amiable, whatsoever things are of good report," counseling us to let our lives run upon their lines. Plato makes the same judgment, more comprehensively, as truth, goodness, and beauty. Pasteur, the greatest of modern scientists and the good patriot of progress, stated them in his final message to mankind: "Happy is that man who finds in his heart an ideal of beauty and obeys it, an ideal of knowledge, an ideal of art, an ideal of his native country. These are the vital sources of great thoughts and great actions."

To interpret the life of a people engaged in triumphant materialism in terms of these ideal values is the tremendous obligation of patriotism in a time of prosperous peace: to incorporate them in our lives, to project them into our affairs, to make them supreme in our judgments. It is to give electric welcomes to these necessities of the spirit that patriotism counsels us at this critical moment in our history. We need a baptism of this patriotic faith—not a sprinkling, but an immersion! We do not need to change the spiritual nature of North Carolina; but we do need to raise its temperature to a temperature of power. We need to put the State more fully into that current of spiritual power that runs through the humanity of men as truly as the

Divinity of God rules above them. All experience, all prophecy, and the high instincts of our own hearts tell us that through patriotic faith and consecrated service we may translate our local issues in the terms of these eternal principles, and that only so shall our civilization see salvation.

Many sincere and patriotically disposed men grant that progress means more than material prosperity, but they will give to any program of idealism indifferent support because they regard it as too impractical for personal service.

They have the feeling that if we seek prosperity with heart, mind and soul that the other will be added as a sort of extra dividend. It is the always defeated hope of spiritual inertia. If constructive idealism is to be the saving standard of our State life we shall establish it by effort, deliberate, courageous, and devoted. The destiny of a people in ideals is no more a matter of chance than business is a matter of chance. A certain fine basis exists in the nature of our people, but a high civic standard is not waited for, but achieved.

Others, more active, doubt the need of such a program for city or State because they identify progress of the people with party platforms. In the midst of active affairs we are overwhelmed by the notion that democracy is a way of doing something, whereas it is primarily a good way of being something. All of the active devices of government—ballots, laws, constitutions, and the rest—are not to enable men to vote, but to develop men who will vote for right things; not to make more perfect machinery for governing men, but to make more perfect men for governing. We can pass all the Sherman laws we please, but we can not get them obeyed, enforced, or interpreted unless they accord with the vital standards and demands in the life of the people. There the issues of government are determined. That is what carrying the government back to the people really means; there is the true referendum. What most of us mean by faith in the people is a faith with limitations; a negative faith that they are not bad, that in a great crisis of right and wrong that they will by a sort of instinct approximate right. We have not the high-hearted faith of the true democracy that sees in the developing ideals of the people the one fruitful source of a State's steadily progressing toward perfection. We believe in

the average man; but we believe too much in his averageness, too little in his manhood.

There is another closely associated doubt as to the right of idealism to a place on a patriotic program: that it is indefinite and visionary, and so against the trend of the time. The trend of the time is toward practical efficiency, to identify education with useful facts, religion with works, and statesmanship with a tariff on mica. True patriotism does not rebel against this program except to say that it is incomplete. Patriotism is truly devoted to vocational training, to "swatting the fly," to guarding the needs of the district; but not as supreme ends in themselves. It looks behind practice and immediate profit. It sees that above all else the real fruitfulness of practice comes from the supremacy of principles in the lives of the people, and it has faith that its own people are worthy of what the greatest nations in their great moments have found as the inspiration of their great achievements. In other words, it rejects the standard of mere success that would reproduce the very successful Pittsburg; the standard of mere efficiency that would reproduce the very efficient C. F. Murphy. But while it values whatsoever things are true, and good, and beautiful for their own sake, it does not leave them an inactive philosophy. It does not reject practice, nor small affairs, but it saturates all practice with ideal values and so makes it permanent and magnificent. In every activity it is not ashamed to insist that the standard shall be not merely "Does it pay?" but that to that be added, not as a dead echo, but as the supreme ultimatum of all practice: "What doth it profit" if a State gain the whole world and lose its hold on the realities of Statehood?

The program of constructive idealism is difficult, it is tremendous, but it is not indefinite. Above and beyond all temporary considerations of property, railroads, factories, and corporations, patriotism lays hold upon its vision of North Carolina as a noble state of mind and heart and soul, as the Athens of Pericles was a state of mind, the England of Elizabeth, the Virginia of Jefferson, and to a lesser extent the Wisconsin of LaFollette. No tyranny of balance sheets can shake the faith of patriotism in the great vital truth of democracy that "without vision the people perish."

To catch this vision and to realize it is not the patriotic work of any profession or class. All professions and businesses, all offices truly magnified, are equally the ministers of this patriotism in a free and prosperous State. But it is the singularly fine fortune of this Society to be dedicated to patriotism through service to the ideals of truth, and justice, and beauty as they are revealed in literature and history. Splendid things it has done, and greater things it is yet to do in carrying its beliefs into the life of the State. There is supreme need of a devoted body of loyal men and women who value material construction, but upon whom material size of any sort can not impose. When thousands of strident voices, organized and unorganized, are every breathing moment reminding the State of its business and body, the demand of patriotism is for a militant, extensive group that will remind it of its soul, and give somewhat of their lives to that service.

A number of years ago a witty North Carolinian said that North Carolina was the place where men still believed in God, read Scott, and voted the Democratic ticket. That was when skepticism was more popular, and the Democratic ticket less popular than it is now. But we accept the estimate as indicating the splendid material which challenges patriotic effort in North Carolina: her righteousness, her steadfastness, her beautiful loyalty. No State in the Union offers in the character of its people a more inspiring opportunity for perfecting prosperity in a noble commonwealth through patriotic service to ideal values.

North Carolinians are a truthful people and a truth loving people. Patriotism urges us to render powerful this native virtue by giving abundant welcome to truth in every practice and activity in our life. Ignorance, with its prejudices, is the great foe to truth, and the warfare we are waging against ignorance is our richest patriotic asset; but no patriotic heart can remain untroubled and inactive when it daily faces the tragic deficiency in our power that comes from the terrible sacrifices that we make to ignorance. Beyond this fundamental service patriotism urges us to energize interest in ideas, to give to knowledge momentum and driving power by sending by all possible means currents of ideas throughout the State. In order to give ideas

free course, patriotism urges us to the still higher and more courageous service of creating a free atmosphere of truth. I do not mean truth as I see it, or my party sees it, or my sect of any sort, but truth as it stands revealed to any sincere seeker after it. I mean that for truth to be permanently powerful it must be lifted above its stratified, sectarian stage. Its healthful open mindedness does not, however, mean indecision and indifference. It believes in its party, in its leaders, in its church. It believes in these things as the practical instruments and exponents of truth to be most valiantly fought for. But it also knows that if the people of a State follow a leader, or a party, or a creed, through fear, mere convention or a lack of personal concern; speak without sincerity or keep silent through indifference, the vision of truth is sectarian and incomplete—a dead motive; ideas of spiritual construction are thereby blighted, and unable to keep pace with the unchecked freedom of materialism.

A Virginia paper said recently, apropos of corruption in some of our prosperous sister States, that "North Carolina is the cleanest State in the Union." Regardless of whether our merit in this respect is preëminent, it is certainly true that in goodness the nature of our people affords a splendid basis for constructive idealism. I shall not discuss in detail the interesting practical relations that the standard of material prosperity bears to that standard of level, equalized justice that is the life-blood of all creative effort of every sort in a free State. I do not mean the standard of technical honesty or stolid righteousness. What I do mean is keeping fresh and vital and dominating the criterion of glowing justice. In establishing this standard over the tyranny of the merely business standard of success our prosperity has to face its inexorable problem of the camel and the eye of the needle. We shall not build with permanence unless in every test between the strong and the weak—in finance, labor, race, religion, art, domestic servants—the hundred applications in legislative and personal practice—we courageously and joyfully make prevail above all other judgments the standard of glowing justice as the incarnate conscience of the people.

The editor of *The Progressive Farmer,* who is also Secretary of the North Carolina Literary and Historical Association, a

combination of offices that admirably illustrates his interpretation of successful practice through constructive ideals; of what I have been trying to say of the passion for knowing, allied to the passion of making prevail, the union of present business with the business of all time, of devotion to one's own affairs purified by devotion to the affairs of the State—this patriotic North Carolinian of faith, has hanging in his remarkable office a reproduction or two of Raphael's side by side with a reproduction of Smith's pea planter and Jones's stump puller; a copy of Emerson's Essays is mixed in with a dissertation on subsoil plowing. I do not know what Raphael thinks of the crowd he has got into, but I know that Emerson enjoys it—his robust Americanism has no prejudices against beauty.

The work of an active people is incomplete without beautiful expression. State life, however prosperous, is nervous, barren and poverty stricken, unless it is enriched by noble emotions, nobly expressed and nobly enjoyed. What a benediction in the public life of the State has been our own grey old capitol building, in the gentle perfection of a beautiful age that is ever young—the hallowed memorial of gracious ideals that its presence will not let die. The influence of its beauty on the life of the State has been greater, I suspect, than that of many a chief executive. We do not count the extension of beauty in the form of books, pictures and architecture as a civic obligation; yet beauty is not less powerful than the sterner virtues in the ideals of a free people.

There are now 2,500 rural school libraries scattered over North Carolina, containing 200,000 volumes, in addition to the collections in the larger towns. These should not be cemeteries of dead books, nor mere conveniences for people who already love books, but this society and other agencies that have discovered the beauty of books, should put that beauty into the lives of the people. So our private homes, however simple, have a patriotic service as radiating centers in civic life of the tone and temper of beauty; our municipalities as aggregates, not of competing businesses, but beautiful expressions of the joy of living together. The small towns of which North Carolina is made up offer in their formative stage the best opportunity for growing into the supreme civic grace of beauty—though small towns

like small boys are especially careless of their personal loveliness. We prostitute the beauty of our highways of trade to the most vulgar purposes, indifferent to the fact that they, too, are the homes of men, careless of how we build them or build on them. Splendid civic work has been done in the past five years in beautifying our public places, and almost entirely it has been done by women—unfranchised and unfinanced. We need abundantly to welcome this motive of beauty as a dominating ideal into our private and our public construction, making it an active ally in that noble confederation of ideals, that partnership of the present with the past and the future that is the summary of all patriotism, the prophecy of permanent greatness.

May I say, in a word of conclusion, that there are many evidences that while we are building with energy, intelligence, confidence, temples to our god of Industry, that we are stirred by these profounder motives of ideal construction? They are observable in almost every North Carolina town, and nowhere are they more impressive than in our own lately awakened capital city. No other influence could be quite so potent as that there should be here a government not only efficient in practice, but glorifying its practice by illustrations of a genuine civic patriotism that expresses itself by devotedly constructing works of truth, justice, and beauty. But more than any other evidence of a growth of a noble civic faith in North Carolina is that supreme evidence in the life of the people more deeply felt than seen. It is the aspiration, even the yearning of the people of this State for higher things—a passionate docility, combined with the strength of native independence—a yearning for great leadership founded on great principles. Even now these leaders may be waiting. I do not know. The expectation of the people is a compelling prayer. It will be the work of our section, I believe, reëstablished in nationalism through prosperity, to lead the nation out of its confusions of materialism, and it will be only through new interpretations of the old ideals. However this may be, I know that our own heroes will come in commerce, in statecraft, in literature, in religion, when the spiritual temper of the State becomes resurgent through patriotic faith, and so liberates the splendid virtues of constructive materialism from its own unbalanced tyrannies. To usher in this creative era is

in part the glorious privilege of every man and woman who would play a patriot's part in the North Carolina of today, and achieve in the North Carolina of tomorrow the commonwealth for which men have dreamed and died, but scarcely dared to hope!

What Should a State History for the Public Schools Contain?

Outline of Address by C. Alphonso Smith, Poe Professor of English in the University of Virginia, November 27, 1911.

We are approaching a new era in our educational campaign. The slogan has hitherto been "More schools"; it will soon be "Better textbooks in the hands of the pupils." We are on the threshold of changes in our courses of study in the public schools hardly dreamed of ten years ago. What we have considered fundamental subjects are going to be readapted to present day school needs or eliminated altogether.

THE TRADITIONAL STATE HISTORY.

For some time I have been reading State histories, and the conviction has grown upon me that they are an outworn inheritance from England. In the traditional English History the reign of the monarch is the chronological unit, and so in our United States histories we divide by Presidents, and in our State histories by Governors. The pupil is supposed to memorize both names and dates. Add wars to this list and you have the usual State History. The Governors, in other words, are lined up in single file and the pupil has a word with each as he passes with his teacher down the line from the first to the last. Pauses are made only in the case of wars. Here the gubernatorial stream broadens out into a storm-tossed lake, but soon narrows again into the single stream.

Is this history? Will this sort of study ever put the pupil in touch with the great constructive forces that are making and have made every State what it is? The fact is we are living in a democracy but repeating for the school children the formula of a monarchy.

THE REMEDY.

We must democratize our history, not by lengthening, but by widening and diversifying the record. The traditional history ends where real history should begin. Fifty pages, it seems to me, are enough for the purely narrative part of any State His-

tory. This narrative should deal sparingly with names and dates, but it should present interestingly and lucidly the main events from the founding to the present time. This outline, however, at which most histories stop, should be but the real beginning. The pupil learns through this narrative what has been done; he is now to learn how it was done.

The first part may be considered The Result. The second part is The Interpretation of the Result. In the second part he is to learn the significance of the constructive agencies that have determined and conditioned the present status. It is as if the pupil were shown a majestic building. After seeing its imposing outlines his first question is: "How was it built?"

CONSTRUCTIVE FORCES.

What are these constructive forces? The most important are Agriculture, Transportation, Manufacturing, Government, Literature, Education, Religion, and Representative Leadership. These seem to me the natural and necessary headings of the chapters that should follow the narrative introduction. The length of these chapters and the method of treatment would, of course, be conditioned on the kind of evolution through which the State had gone. But, however modified, these are the forces which have moulded the past of every American State, and in which the American places his confident trust for the future. History must correlate these forces with the past and must interpret them in terms of the present. It must give the pupil such a realization of their significance as will make the preceding narrative of his State's development seem not a meaningless tale, but the inevitable resultant of interacting forces. In the case of North Carolina the recent unparalleled advance along all of these lines and the concurrent efficiency of the State Historical Commission make this method of treatment a practical necessity. No other treatment can make even approximately plain to the pupil or to the outside reader just what North Carolina is today and why. Let us glance at these forces in the proposed order of treatment.

AGRICULTURE.

No State is making greater comparative progress today in agriculture than North Carolina. Even the boys, the captains

of the corn brigades, are enthusiastic. Not only have agricultural methods been improved, but the constructive significance of agriculture in the making of a State is being realized as never before. What is needed now is to relate this movement to our past, and to put a new conception of agriculture in the home by putting it in the school. The Department of Agriculture sends out bulletins, the good influence of which is limited only by the number of appreciative readers. The time has come to meet these bulletins half way by preparing a body of intelligent readers in advance. Four-fifths of the inhabitants of North Carolina live in the country. Should not the boys and girls from these homes be made to feel that they are a part of the history of the State? Are they made to feel this in the pages of the political histories that have been written?

The chapter on agriculture would not be filled with statistics but it would begin with a brief reference to agriculture as a world influence in civilization and then pass directly to North Carolina. There should be an abundance of illustrations, a discussion of the more epoch-making discoveries and inventions, a clear statement of the nature of the soil and the resultant localization of industries, with a hint of the immense possibilities yet undeveloped. The purpose is not to make professional agriculturalists, but enlightened citizens. The emphasis, therefore, should be put upon agriculture as conditioning history. The discussion should be broad, interesting, but elemental, the facts being so stated as to furnish a key to the narrative that has preceded.

TRANSPORTATION.

The same general treatment would be followed in the chapter on transportation. It would be well to begin with the good roads movement. Is this not constructive? Is it not making history? Does it not contribute to the exchange of ideas and to the facilitation of neighborliness as well as to the increase of commerce? Or one might begin with the proposed Atlantic interior passage from New England to Florida and the Gulf of Mexico. Once touch the constructive imagination of the pupil and you have enriched his civic consciousness. We hear much today of the future-minded man. No one doubts his value as a civic asset. But the future-minded man is only the past-minded

boy grown up. If the boy is taught to see that the great things all about him are not detached and isolated, but rather the product of influences working silently and convergently through the centuries, influences that he can stimulate or retard, he will be the futureminded man of his generation.

A map of the State, showing the old highways yielding place to railroads or being transformed by macadam, showing also the possibilities of new landways and waterways, would give the pupil a glimpse into the future of the State that he could not obtain from the most elaborate political map. Emerson says that he found roads out west that began broad, then narrowed to a squirrel path, and finally took refuge up a tree. But he must have been journeying backwards. These roads probably began in the tree, passed into a squirrel path, widened into a hog path, swelled into a cow path, and graduated into a man path. Road building does not go backward, and the memory of roadbuilders should not be allowed to lapse. It was evidently a future-minded man who wrote the inscription on the lone headstone between Hendersonville and Mount Hebron:

HERE LIES SOLOMON JONES,
THE ROAD MAKER,
A TRUE PATRIOT.
HE LABORED FIFTY YEARS TO LEAVE THE WORLD BETTER THAN HE FOUND IT.

MANUFACTURING.

"As late as 1810," says President D. H. Hill, in his *Young People's History of North Carolina*, "out of fifteen hundred men present at a military drill, all but forty were dressed in homespun." There was at that time not a cotton mill in the South. The growth of manufactures in the South since 1810, but especially since 1870, is an epic of absorbing interest. Last year alone more than 100,000 people in North Carolina labored in factories, and the value of their products was more than $150,000,000.

The transition from the spinning wheel and loom (still seen in remote mountain districts) to the cotton mill, from home made tobacco to the tobacco factory, and from home made furniture to the furniture factory, is a transition that has never

been adequately treated in our histories. It is a story that is written large over the face of our State, but meagerly, if at all, in our school textbooks. But a moment's consideration will show that if the study of history in the schoolroom is meant to be an introduction to the constructive agencies that have touched our life at every point, manufactures whether by hand or machine can not be ignored. The boy or girl who can think through the steps that lead from the raw material to the finished product, and who can relate these steps to the general advance in things of the mind, is a historian in the germ. Such a pupil has learned to interpret facts in terms of forces.

GOVERNMENT.

Not till the pupil has learned the simpler interrelations of soil, roads, and machinery, will he be prepared to understand the simpler problems of government. It was just this failure to take into consideration the physical aspects of civilization that made John Locke's Grand Model the joke of North Carolina history.

Civics and agriculture, when studied at all in the public schools, are usually studied apart from history. But are they not necessary to the understanding of history? Even if they are studied both before and after the study of State history they should also be studied along with and as a part of State history. In North Carolina a beginner's course in agriculture is required in the fifth and sixth grades. The History of North Carolina is taught also in the sixth grade, while civil government is put in the seventh grade. This seems to me an admirable arrangement provided the significance of agriculture and the significance of good government are made plain in the State history.

As North Carolina is experimenting with the commission form of government for cities the whole subject of civics might well be introduced by calling attention to this new and promising development in the science of self-government. Civics should be taught at least in a human rather than in a formal way, so that the pupil may intelligently think himself through the leading offices of State, county, and town. There should be a State government, a county government, and a city government organized from time to time among the pupils. A boy who has

played governor, or legislator, or county commissioner, or mayor, or policeman, will have learned that the duties of democratic citizenship need more emphasis than the rights. He will also be enabled to read his State's history with an insight and sympathy impossible before.

LITERATURE.

The history of literature in North Carolina has never been written, but enough is known to warrant the historian in calling attention to our native writers as interpreters and moulders of our history. Two North Carolinians at least have touched the intellect and heart of the nation in a unique way. Hinton Rowan Helper's book, *The Impending Crisis* (1857), remains the ablest discussion of the economic weakness of slavery that has yet been written. The tone is bitter, but the State can not afford to omit this man from the roll of its national thinkers. "New England wives," says Helper, "have written the most popular antislavery literature of the day. Against this I have nothing to say; it is well enough for women to give the fictions of slavery; men should give the facts." The effect of *The Impending Crisis* on the thought of the nation was hardly less than the effect of *Uncle Tom's Cabin* on the emotions of the nation.

What Helper of Mocksville did for the economic argument against slavery, O. Henry, of Greensboro, did for the four million of New York. The one appealed to the head, the other to the heart. But both appeals were national and the services of both men should be capitalized in our history for future generations.

I have reference, however, chiefly to North Carolina writers who have found their inspiration in their native soil, writers who have celebrated the scenery or perpetuated the traditions of their own State. Such writers are history makers and history interpreters. The *Old North State,* by Gaston, is the best known State song in America. Its music and words have done more to bind North Carolinians together in a community of interest and idealism than any other single poem in our literature. It should not only be memorized in every school but studied as an interpretation of the State spirit at the time when it was

written. It is not a final interpretation, but it will stimulate others to attempt a better.

Mrs. Tiernan's *Land of the Sky* (1876) introduced Western North Carolina to the outside world. It did for the region around Asheville a service comparable to that done by Irving's *Rip Van Winkle* and *The Legend of Sleepy Hollow* for the neighborhood of Tarrytown-on-the-Hudson. If Burton Egbert Stevenson in his *Poems of American History* (1908) finds a place for Seymour W. Whiting's poem on *Alamance,* and William C. Elam's poem on *The Mecklenburg Declaration,* ought not the historians of North Carolina to find a place for them? If these and similar poems belong to American history, do they not belong also to North Carolina history? If the pupil learns nothing more from them than that literature has from the beginning been the conservator and the herald of history he will have learned a truth that will minister to him as long as he lives.

EDUCATION AND RELIGION.

These are grouped here for lack of space, and not because they should be grouped in our proposed history. There should be separate maps showing the growth of schools and churches, and a clear statement of their necessary interdependence. The growth and influence of the Young Men's Christian Association should also be outlined, as well as the growth and influence of school libraries.

The educational history of the State has already been well written; it needs only to be brought up to date, provided with plentiful pictures, and skilfully adapted to public school use. The purpose is to make clear not only the phenomenal advance of recent years, but the heroisms of early years and the moulding influence of education upon every phase of our State's activities. It is the merest commonplace to say that churches and schools are at once the measures and the determinants of a State's progress. But as common as the saying is, I have found no State history that traces these two constructive forces in their beneficent influence upon the State's destinies. If mentioned, they are merely mentioned. It is at least the highest praise that can be given the story of our State to say that it can not be understood by any one who ignores or underrates the primacy of intellect or morality.

REPRESENTATIVE LEADERS.

This chapter should complete and unify all that has gone before. But the leaders chosen should be representative of the constructive forces already mentioned. The makers of North Carolina history have been not only civic leaders in the accepted sense, but farmers, road builders, manufacturers, educators, writers, and preachers. The influence of biography on a reader, it must be remembered, is measured not merely by the greatness of the life portrayed, but by the similarity of task and environment that the reader is made to feel between himself and the hero. The biography, in other words, must meet the reader half way. It must reveal the same or kindred interests. It must touch his sense of common humanity. When this is done, life is reinvested in life. Longfellow's line, "There is no death; what seems so is transition," receives thus a new meaning. The transition is from the past to the present, from service that has been to service that will be.

To select these representative men, to portray the salient features of their life and work, to relate them properly to the varied activities of the State and to the ideals and interests of the pupils in our schools, is to write history that is not only democratic, but dynamic. It is a task calling for disciplined judgment and wide sympathy, but the reward will be greater than the task.

IN CONCLUSION.

History thus written would not fill the pupil's mind with names and figures, but it would deepen and diversify his interests. It would enable him to correlate the present with the past, and to summon both to the service of a larger future. His imagination would be enlarged both by retrospect and prospect. He would realize that history is not conservation, but interpretation, that it deals with the past only to make it live on into the present, and with the present only to garner it for the future.

Above all he would realize that his own honest toil, however humble, is a part of the State's progress, that no one man and no one class of men has made or is making the fabric of statehood, that it is a collective and composite thing on which many

brains have pondered and many hands have wrought. And out of this realization there would come that new conception of the State, a conception which has kindled alike the imagination of the poet and the patriotism of the citizen:

"God gave all men all earth to love,
But since our hearts are small,
Ordained for each one spot should prove
Belovèd over all;
That, as He watched Creation's birth,
So we, in godlike mood,
May of our love create our earth
And see that it is good."

The Constitution and its Makers

ADDRESS OF HONORABLE HENRY CABOT LODGE, TUESDAY EVENING, NOVEMBER 28, 1911.

Before this Society and on such an occasion to speak on any subject not connected with the history of our common country would hardly be possible, and would certainly not be fitting. I have, therefore, chosen a subject which touches the history of the United States at every point. I shall try to set before you some of the results of a great work in which your State and mine alike took part a century and a quarter ago, and which possesses an interest and an importance as deep and as living today as at the moment of its inception. I shall touch upon some present questions but I shall speak without the remotest reference to politics or parties, for my subject transcends both. I shall speak as a student of our history with reverence for the past and with a profound faith in the future. In a word I shall speak simply as an American who loves his country, "now and forever, one and inseparable."

A little less than twenty-five years ago great crowds thronged the streets of Philadelphia. Men and women were there from all parts of the United States; the city was resplendent with waving flags and brilliant with all the decorations which ingenuity could suggest, while the nights were made bright by illuminations which shone on every building. Great processions passed along the streets, headed by troops from the thirteen original States, marching in unusual order, with Delaware at the head, because that little State had been the first to accept the great instrument of government which now, having attained its hundredth year, was celebrated in the city of its birth.

Behind the famous hall where independence was declared an immense crowd listened to commemorative speakers, and the President of the United States, a Democrat, honored the occasion with his presence and his words.

Two years later, in 1889, the same scenes were repeated in New York. Again the cannon thundered and again flags waved above the heads of the multitude gathered in the streets through which

marched a long procession, both military and civil, headed as before by the representatives of the original thirteen States. Again, this time at a great banquet, addresses were delivered and once more the President of the United States, a Republican, honored the occasion by his presence, and in the name of all the people of the country praised the great deeds of our ancestors.

In Philadelphia we celebrated the hundredth anniversary of the formation of the Constitution of the United States. In New York we commemorated the one hundredth anniversary of the inauguration of the government which that Constitution had brought into being. Through all the rejoicings of those days in every spoken and in every written word ran one unbroken strain of praise for the great instrument and of gratitude to the men who, in the exercise of the highest wisdom, had framed it and brought it forth. All men recalled that it had made a nation from thirteen jarring States, that it had proved in its interpretation flexible to meet new conditions and strong to withstand injustice and wrong, that it had survived the shock of Civil War, and that under it liberty had been protected and order maintained. The pæan of praise rose up from all parts of this broad land unmarred by a discordant note. Everyone agreed with Gladstone's famous declaration, that the Constitution of the United States was the greatest political instrument ever struck off on a single occasion by the minds of men. We seemed by all we said and did to justify those foreign critics who reproached us for our blind reverence for our Constitution and our almost superstitious belief in its absolute wisdom and unexampled perfections.

Those celebrations of the framing of the Constitution and of the inauguration of the government have been almost forgotten. More than twenty years have come and gone since the cheers of the crowds which then filled the streets of New York and Philadelphia, since the reverberations of the cannon and the eloquent voice of the orator, died away into silence. And with those years, not very many after all, there seems to have passed away also the spirit which then pervaded the American people from the President to the humblest citizen in the land. Instead of the universal chorus of praise and gratitude to the framers of the Constitution the air is now rent with harsh voices of criti-

cism and attack while the vast mass of the American people, still believing in their Constitution and their government, look on and listen, bewildered and confused, dumb thus far from mere surprise and deafened by the discordant outcry so suddenly raised against that which they have always reverenced and held in honor. Everyone who is in distress, or in debt, or discontented, now assails the Constitution, for such is the present passion. Every reformer of other people's misdeeds—all of that numerous class which is ever seeking to promote virtue at somebody else's expense—pause in their labors to point out the shortcomings of our national charter. Every raw demagogue, every noisy agitator, whether in Congress or out of Congress, incapable of connected thought and seeking his own advancement by the easy method of appealing to envy, malice, and all uncharitableness—those unlovely qualities in human nature which so readily seek for gratification under the mask of high sounding and noble attributes—all such people now lift their hands to tear down or remake the Constitution. In House and Senate one can hear attacks upon it at any time and listen to men deriding its framers and their work. No longer are we criticised by outsiders for having a superstitious reverence for our Constitution. Quite recently I read an article by an English member of Parliament,* a Liberal, I believe, with Socialist proclivities, who said that this reproach of an undue veneration for the Constitution ought no longer to be brought against us, for beneficent and progressive spirits were already beginning to pull to pieces and to modernize it in conformity with the clamor of the moment. All this is quite new in our history. We have, as a people, reverenced our Constitution and realized what it has accomplished and what protection it has given to ordered freedom and individual liberty. Even the Abolitionists, when they denounced the Constitution for the shelter which it afforded to slavery, did not deny its success in other directions, and their hostility to the Constitution was one of the most deadly weapons used against them.

The enmity to the Constitution and the attacks upon it which have developed in the last few years present a situation of the utmost gravity. If allowed to continue without answer they

*Mr. L. T. Hobhouse.

may mislead public opinion and produce the most baneful results. The people of the United States may come to believe that all these attacks are in a measure, at least, true. And, therefore, if they are not true, their falsity ought to be shown. Beside the question of the maintenance or destruction of the Constitution of the United States all other questions of law and policy sink into utter insignificance. In their presence party lines should disappear and all sectional differences melt away like the early mists of dawn before the rising sun. The Constitution is our fundamental law. Upon its provisions rests the entire fabric of our institutions. It is the oldest of written constitutions. It has served as a model for many nations, both in the Old World and in the New. It has disappointed the expectations of those who opposed it, convinced those who have doubted, and won a success beyond the most glowing hopes of those who put faith in it. Such a work is not to be lightly cast down or set aside, or which would be still worse, remade by crude thinkers and by those who live only to serve and flatter in their own interest the emotion of the moment. We should approach the great subject as our ancestors approached it, simply as Americans with a deep sense of its seriousness and with a clear determination to deal with it only upon full knowledge and after the most mature and calm reflection. The time has come to do this, not only here and now, but everywhere throughout the country.

Let us first consider who the men were who made the Constitution and under what conditions they worked. Then let us determine exactly what they meant to do, a most vital point, for much of the discussion to which we have been treated thus far has proceeded upon a complete misapprehension of the purpose and intent of the framers of the Constitution. Finally let us bring their work and their purposes to the bar of judgment so that we may decide whether they have failed—whether in their theory of government they were right or wrong, then and now—or whether their work has stood the test of time, is broad based on eternal principles of justice, and if rent, or mangled or destroyed would not in its ruin bring disaster and woes inestimable upon the people who shall wreck their great inheritance and like

> **"The base Indian throw a pearl away**
> **Richer than all his tribe."**

First, then, of the men who met in Philadelphia in May, 1787, with doubts and fears oppressing them, but calm, high courage, and with a noble aspiration to save their country then and in the future from the miseries which threatened it, to lead it out from the wilderness of distractions, in which it was wandering blind and helpless, into the light, so that the chaos, hateful alike to God and men, might be ended and order put in its place.

It is the fashion just now to speak of the framers of the Constitution as worthy, able, and patriotic persons, whom we are proud to have embalmed in our history, but toward whom no enlightened man would now think of turning seriously for either guidance or instruction, so thoroughly has everything been altered and so much has intelligence advanced. It is commonly said that they dealt wisely and well with the problems of their day, but that of course they knew nothing of those which confront us, and that it would be worse than folly to be in any degree governed by the opinions of men who lived under such wholly different conditions. It seems to me that this view leaves something to be desired and is not wholly correct or complete. I certainly do not think that all wisdom died with our fathers, but I am quite sure that it was not born yesterday. I fully realize that in saying even this I show myself to be what is called old-fashioned, and I know that a study of history, which has been one of the pursuits of my life, tends to make a man give more weight to the teachings of the past than it is now thought they deserve. Yet, after all allowance is made, I can not but feel that there is something to be learned from the men who established the government of the United States, and that their opinions, the result of much and deep reflection, are not without value, even to the wisest among us. On questions of this character, I think, their ideas and conclusions are not to be lightly put aside, for, after all, however much we may now gently patronize them as good old patriots long since laid in their honored graves, they were none the less very remarkable men, who would have been eminent in any period of history and might even, if alive now, attain to distinction. Let us glance over the list of delegates to the Constitutional Convention in Philadelphia in 1787. I find, to begin with, that their average age was

forty-three, which is not an extreme senectitude, and the ages range from Franklin, who was eighty-one, to John Francis Mercer, of Virginia, who was twenty-eight. Among the older men who were conspicuous in the Convention, were Franklin, with his more than eighty years; Washington, who was fifty-five; Roger Sherman, who was sixty-six, and Mason and Wythe, of Virginia, who were both sixty-one. But when I looked to see who were the most active forces in that Convention, I found that the New Jersey plan was brought forward by William Paterson, who was forty-two; that the Virginia plan was proposed by Edmund Randolph, who was thirty-four; while Charles Pinckney, of South Carolina, whose plan played a large part in the making of the Constitution, was only twenty-nine. The greatest single argument, perhaps, which was made in the Convention, was that of Hamilton, who was thirty. The man who contributed more possibly than any other to the daily labors of the Convention, and who followed every detail was Madison, who was thirty-six. The Connecticut Compromise was very largely the work of Ellsworth, who was forty-two; and the Committee on Style, which made the final draft, was headed by Gouverneur Morris, who was thirty-five. Let us note then at the outset that youth and energy, abounding hope, and the sympathy for the new times stretching forward into the great and uncharted future, as well as high ability, were conspicuous among the men who framed the Constitution of the United States.

Their presiding officer was Washington, one of the great men of all time, who had led the country through seven years of war, and of whom it has been said by an English historian that "no nobler figure ever stood in the forefront of a nation's life." Next comes Franklin, the great man of science, the great diplomatist, the great statesman and politician, the great writer; one of the most brilliant intellects of the eighteenth century, who, in his long life, had known cities and men as few others have ever known them. There was Hamilton, one of the greatest constructive minds that modern statesmanship has to show; to whose writings German statesmen turned when they were forming their Empire forty years ago, and about whom in these latter days books are written in England because they find in the principal author of the Federalist the great exponent of the doctrines

of successful federation. There was Madison, statesman and law maker, wise, astute, careful, destined to be, under the government which he was helping to make, Secretary of State and President. Roger Sherman was there, sagacious, able, experienced; one of the leaders of the Revolution and a signer of the Declaration of Independence, as he was of the Constitution. Great lawyers were present in Philadelphia in that memorable summer of 1787; such men as Ellsworth and Wilson and Mason and Wythe. It was, in a word, a very remarkable body which assembled to frame a Constitution for the United States. Its members were men of the world, men of affairs, soldiers, lawyers, statesmen, diplomatists, versed in history, widely accomplished, deeply familiar with human nature. I think that without an undue or slavish reverence for the past or for the men of a former generation we may fairly say that in patriotism and in intellect, in knowledge, experience, and calmness of judgment, these framers of the Constitution compare not unfavorably with those prophets and thinkers of today who decry the work of 1787, would seek to make it over with all modern improvements and who, with unconscious humor, declare that they are engaged in the restoration of popular government.

That phrase is in itself suggestive. That which has never existed can not be restored. If popular government is to be restored in the United States it must have prevailed under the Constitution as it is, and yet those who are so devoured by anxiety for the rights of the people propose to effect the restoration they demand by changing the very Constitution under which popular government is admitted by their own words to have existed. I will point out presently the origin of this confusion of thought. It is enough to say now that for more than a century no one questioned that the government of the Constitution was in the fullest sense a popular government. In 1863 Lincoln, in one of the greatest speeches ever uttered by man, declared that he was engaged in trying to save government by the people. Nearly thirty years later, when we celebrated the one hundredth anniversary of the Constitution, the universal opinion was still the same. All men then agreed that the government which had passed through the fires of Civil War was a popular government. Indeed this new idea of the loss of popu-

lar government, which it is proposed to restore by mangling the Constitution under which it has existed for more than a century, is very new, in fact hardly ten years old.

This first conception of our Constitution as an instrument of popular government, so long held unquestioned, was derived from the framers of the Constitution themselves. They knew perfectly well that they were founding a government which was to be popular in the broadest sense. The idea sedulously propagated, that these great men did not know what they were about, or were pretending to do one thing while they really did another, is one of the most fantastic delusions with which agitators have ever attempted to mislead or perplex the public mind. The makers of the Constitution may have been right or they may have been wrong in the principles upon which they acted or in the work they accomplished, but they knew precisely what they meant to do and why they did it. No man in history ever faced facts with a clearer gaze than George Washington, and when, after the adjournment of the Convention, he said: "We have raised a standard to which the good and wise can repair; the event is in the hands of God," he labored under no misapprehension as to the character of the great instrument where his name led all the rest.

It is the fashion to say that since then great changes have occurred and wholly new conditions have arisen, of which the men of 1787 could by no possibility have had any knowledge or anticipation. This is quite true. They could not have foreseen the application of steam to transportation, or of electricity to communication, which have wrought greater changes in human environment than anything which has happened to man since those dim prehistoric, unrecorded days when someone discovered the control of fire, invented the wheel, and devised the signs for language, masterpieces of intelligence with which even the marvels of the last century can not stand comparison. The men of the Constitution could as little have foreseen what the effects of steam and electricity would be as they could anticipate the social and economic effects of these great inventions or the rapid seizure of the resources of nature through the advances of science and the vast fortunes and combinations of capital which have thus been engendered. Could they, however, with prophetic

gaze have beheld in a mirror of the future all these new forces at work, so powerful as to affect the very environment of human life, even then they would not, I think, have altered materially the Constitution which they were slowly and painfully perfecting. They would have kept on their way because they would have seen plainly what is now too often overlooked and misunderstood, that all the perplexing and difficult problems born of these inventions and of the changes, both social and economic, which have followed, were subjects to be dealt with by laws as the questions arose, and laws and policies were not their business. They were not making laws to regulate or to affect either social or economic conditions. Their work was not only higher but far different. They were laying down certain great principles upon which a government was to be built and by which laws and policies were to be tested as gold is tested by a touchstone.

Upon the work in which they were engaged, social and economic changes or alterations in international relations and political conditions, no matter how profound or unforeseen—and none could have been more profound or more unforeseen than those which have actually taken place—had little bearing or effect. They were framing a government and human nature was the one great and controlling element in their problem. Human nature, with its strength and its weakness, its passions and emotions so often dominating its reason, its selfish desires and its nobler aspirations, was the same then as now. There is no factor so constant in human affairs as human nature itself and in its essential attributes it is the same today as it was among the builders of the pyramids. As to the principles of government which the framers of the Constitution wished to adapt to that portion of human nature which had gained a foothold on the North American continent there was little to be invented. There is no greater fallacy than to suppose that new and fundamental principles of government are constantly to be discovered and wrought out. Laws change and must change with the march of humanity across the centuries as its alterations find in the conditions about it but fundamental principles and theories of government are all extremely old. The very words in which we must express ourselves when we speak of

forms of government are all ancient. Let me recall a few facts which every school boy knows and which any one can obtain by indulging in that too much neglected exercise of examining a dictionary. Anarchy, for example, is the Greek word "rule" or "command" with the alpha privative in the form of AN prefixed, and means the state of a people without government. Monarchy is the rule of one; oligarchy is the rule of a few. We can not state what our own government is without using the word "democracy," which is merely the Greek word *Democrateia* and means popular government, or the rule of the people. Aristocracy, ideally as Aristotle had it, is the rule of the best, but even in those days it meant in practice the rule of the best born or nobles. Plutocracy is the rule of the rich; autocracy, self-derived power, the unlimited authority of a single person. Ochlocracy is the rule of the multitude for which we have tried to substitute the hideous compound "mobocracy." As with words so with the things of which the words are the symbol; the people who invented the one had already devised the other. The words all carry us back to Greece and all these various forms of government were well known to the Greeks and had been analyzed and discussed by them with a brilliancy, a keenness and an intellectual power which have never been surpassed. If you will read "The Republic" and "The Laws" of Plato and supplement that study by an equally careful examination of what Aristotle has to say on government you will find that those great minds have not only influenced human thought from that time to this, but that there is little which they left unsaid. It is the fashion for example to speak of Socialism as if it were something new, a radiant discovery of our own time which is to wipe away all tears. The truth is that it is very old, as old in essence as human nature, for it appeals to the strong desire in every man to get something for nothing and to have some one else bear his burdens and do his work for him. As a system it is amply discussed by Plato, who in "The Republic" urges measures which go to great extremes in this direction. In the fourth century of our era a faction called the Circumcellions were active as Socialists and caused great trouble within the weakening empire of Rome. The real difficulty historically with the theories of socialism is not that they are new, but that they are very, very

old, and wherever they have been put in practical operation on a large scale they have resulted in disorder, retrogression and in the arrest of civilization and progress.

Broadly stated there have been only two marked additions to theories or principles of government since the days of the Greeks and the Romans. One is the representative principle developed by the people of England in the "Mother of Parliaments" and now spread all over the world, and the other is the system of federation on a large scale embracing under a central government of defined powers a union of sovereign and self-governing States which the world owes in its bold and broad application to the men who met at Philadelphia to frame our Constitution in 1787.

With these exceptions the framers of the Constitution dealt with the theories and systems of government which have been considered, discussed and experimented with for more than two thousand years and which are today, a century later, the same as in 1787, unchanged and with no additions to their number. In order to reach the essence of what the makers of the Constitution tried and meant to do, which it is most important to know and reflect upon deeply before we seek to undo their work, let us begin by dismissing from our consideration all that is unessential or misleading. Let us lay aside first the word republic, for a republic denotes a form and not a principle. A republic may be democratic, like ours, or an autocracy like that of Augustus Cæsar, or an oligarchy like Venice, or a changing tyranny like some of those visible in South America. The word has become as inaccurate, scientifically speaking, as the word monarchy, which may be in reality a democracy as in England or Norway, constitutional as in Italy, or a pure despotism as in Russia. Let us adhere in this discussion to the scientifically exact word democracy. Next let us dismiss all that concerns the relations of the States to the National Government. Federation, as I have said, was the great contribution of the Philadelphia Convention to the science of government. The framers of the Constitution, if they did not invent the principle, applied it on such a scale and in such a way that it was practically a discovery, a venture both bold and new, as masterly as it was profoundly planned. With the love of precedents characteristic of

their race they labored to find authority and example in such remote and alien arrangements as the Achæan League and the Amphictyonic Council, but the failure of these precedents as such was the best evidence of the novelty and magnitude of their own design. Their work in this respect has passed through the ordeal of a great war, it has been and is today the subject of admiration and study on the part of foreign nations and not even the most ardent reformer of this year of grace would think, in his efforts to restore popular government, of assailing the Union of Sovereign States. Therefore we may pass by this great theme which was the heaviest part of the task of our ancestors.

In the same way we may dismiss, much as it troubled the men of 1787, all that relates to the machinery of government, such as the electoral college, the tenure of office, the methods of electing Senators and Representatives, and the like. These matters are important; many active thinkers in public life seek to change them, not for the better as I believe, but none the less these provisions concern only the mechanism of government, they do not go to the root of the matter, they do not affect the fundamental principles on which the government rests.

By making these omissions we come now to the vital point which is, What kind of a government did the makers of the Constitution intend to establish and how did they mean to have it work? They were, it must be remembered, preparing a scheme of government for a people peculiarly fitted to make any system of free institutions work well. The people of the United Colonies were homogeneous. They came in the main from Great Britain and Ireland with the addition of the Dutch in New York, of some Germans from the Palatinate, and of a few French Huguenots from France, whose ability and character were as high as their numbers were relatively small. But an overwhelming majority of the American people in 1787 were of English descent, and they, as well as the others from other lands, were deeply imbued with all those principles of law which were the bulwarks of English liberty. In this new land men had governed themselves and there was at that moment no people on earth so fit for or so experienced in self-government as the people of the thirteen colonies. Their colonial governments

were representative and in essence democratic. They became entirely so when the Revolution ended and the last English Governor was withdrawn. In the four New England colonies local government was in the hands of the town meetings, the purest democracies then or now extant, but it is best to remember what the men of 1787 well knew, that these little democracies moved within fixed bounds determined by the laws of the States under which they had their being.

For such a people, of such a character, with such a past and such habits and traditions only one kind of government was possible and that was democracy. The makers of the Constitution called their new government a republic and they were quite correct in doing so, for it was of necessity republican in form. But they knew that what they were establishing was a democracy. One has but to read the debates to see how constantly present that fact was to their minds. Democracy was then a very new thing in the modern world. As a system it had not been heard of, except in the fevered struggles of the Italian City republics, since the days of Rome and Greece, and although the Convention knew perfectly well that they were establishing a democracy and that it was inevitable that they should do so, some of them regarded it with fear and all with a deep sense of responsibility and caution. The logical sequence as exhibited in history and as accepted by the best minds of the eighteenth century, struggling to give to men a larger freedom, was—Democracy—Anarchy—Despotism. The makers of the Constitution were determined that so far as in them lay the American Republic should never take the second step, never revolve through the vicious circle which had culminated in empire in Rome, in the tyrants of the Grecian and the despots of the Italian cities which in their turn had succumbed to the absolutism of foreign rulers.

The vital question was how should this be done; how should they establish a democracy with a strong government—for after their experience of the Confederation they regarded a weak government with horror—and at the same time so arrange the government that it should be safe as well as strong and free from the peril of lapsing into an autocracy on the one hand or into disorder and anarchy on the other. They did not try to set any

barrier in the way of the popular will, but they sought to put effective obstacles in the path to sudden action which was impelled by popular passion, or popular whim, or by the excitement of the moment. They were the children of the "Great Rebellion" and the "Blessed Revolution" in the England of the seventeenth century, and they were steeped in the doctrine of limiting the power of the King. But here they were dealing with a sovereign who could not be limited, for while a King can be limited by transferring his power to the people, when the people are sovereign their powers can not be transferred to anybody. There is no one to transfer them to and if they are taken away the democracy ceases to exist and another government, fundamentally different, takes its place.

The makers of the Constitution not only knew that the will of the people must be supreme, but they meant to make it so. That which they also aimed to do was to make sure that it was the real will of the people which ruled and not their momentary impulse, their well considered desire and determination and not the passion of the hour, the child perhaps of excitement and mistake inflamed by selfish appeals and terrorized by false alarms. The main object, therefore, was to make it certain that there should be abundant time for discussion and consideration, that the public mind should be thoroughly and well informed and that the movements of the machinery of government should not be so rapid as to cut off due deliberation.

With this end in view they established with the utmost care a representative system with two chambers and an executive of large powers, including the right to veto bills. They also made the amendment of the Constitution a process at once slow and difficult, for they intended that it should be both, and indeed should be impracticable without a strong, determined and lasting public sentiment in favor of change.

Finally they established the Federal Judiciary and in the Supreme Court of the United States they made an addition to the science of government second only in importance to their unequaled work in the development of the principle of federation. That great tribunal has become in the eyes of the world the most remarkable product among the many remarkable solutions devised by the Convention of 1787 for the settlement of the

gravest governmental problems. John Marshall, with the intellect of the jurist and the genius of the statesman, saw the possibilities contained in the words which called the Court into being. By his interpretation and that of his associates and their successors the Constitution attained to flexibility and escaped the rigidity which then and now is held up as the danger and the defect of a written constitution. In their hands the Constitution has been expanded to meet new conditions and new problems as they have arisen. In their hands also the Constitution has been the protection of the rights of States and the rights of men, and laws which violated its principles and its provisions have been set aside.

By making the three branches of the government, the executive, the legislative, and the judicial, entirely separate and yet coördinate, and by establishing a representative system and creating a supreme court of extraordinary powers the framers of the Constitution believed that they had made democracy not only all powerful but at the same time safe and that they had secured it from gradual conversion into autocracy on the one hand and from destruction by too rapid motion and too quick response to the passions of the moment on the other. If ever men were justified by results they have been. The Constitution in its development and through our history has surpassed the hopes of its friends and utterly disappointed the predictions and the criticisms of its foes. Under it the United States has grown into the mighty Republic we see today. New States have come into the Union, vast territories have been acquired, population and wealth have increased to a degree which has amazed the world, and life, liberty, and property have been guarded beneath the flag which is at once the symbol of the country and of the Constitution under which the nation has risen to its high success.

Such results would seem to be a potent argument in favor of the instrument of government through which they have been achieved. But to argue from results seems just now out of fashion. Actual accomplishment it would appear is nothing. According to the new dispensation our decision must be made on what is promised for the future, not on what has been done in the past. Under this novel doctrine, as I have observed it,

we are to be guided only by envy and discontent and are to act exclusively on the general principle that whatever is, is wrong.

What then is the plan by which popular government, which existed under the Constitution for more than a century and which has been mysteriously lost during the past few years, is to be restored to us? It is proposed, to put it in a few words, to remove all the barriers which the makers of the instrument established in order to prevent rash, hasty, and passionate action and to secure deliberation, consideration and due protection for the rights of minorities and of individuals. This is to be accomplished in two ways, by emasculating the representative system through the compulsory initiative and referendum, and by breaking down the courts through the recall. These are the changes by which it is intended to revive popular government. Incidentally they strike at the very heart of the Constitution as the framers planned and made it, for they will convert the deliberate movement of the governmental machinery by which its makers intend to secure to democracy both permanence and success, into an engine which starts at the touch of an electric button, which is as quick in response as a hair trigger pistol, and as rapid in operation as a self-cocking revolver.

These new ideas are of a ripe age, indeed they have passed many hundreds of years beyond the century fixed by Dr. Johnson for the establishment of a literary reputation at a point where it might be intelligently discussed. Let us therefore consider and criticize them.

The compulsory initiative and the compulsory referendum need not detain us long, for the effect of those devices is obvious enough. The entire virtue or the entire vice—each one may use the word he prefers—of these schemes rests in the word "compulsory." The initiative without compulsion is complete in the right of petition secured by the first of the first ten amendments to the Constitution which really constituted a bill of rights. The right of petition became the subject of bitter controversy at a later time and was vindicated once for all by John Quincy Adams' great battle in its behalf, more than three-quarters of a century ago. There are few instances where petitions representing a genuine popular demand have not met a response in action whether in Congress or the State Legislatures, still

fewer when respectful attention and consideration have not been accorded to them. But the responsibility for action and the form such action should take has rested with the representative body. When the initiative is made compulsory a radical change is effected. A minority, sometimes a small minority, of the voters, always a small minority of the people, can compel the Legislature to pass a law and submit it to the voters, when a very large majority of the people neither ask for nor, so far as the evidence goes, desire it. In this way all responsibility is taken from the representative body and they become mere machines for drafting and recording laws. It is the substitution of government by factions and fractions for government by the people. The representative body as hitherto constituted represented the whole people. Under the new plan it is to be merely the helpless instrument of a minority, perhaps a very small minority of the voters.

The voluntary referendum has always existed in this country. In the national government, owing to our dual or Federal form, the referendum on constitutional amendments is necessarily made to the States and has never been suggested for the laws of the United States, owing to both physical and constitutional difficulties. But in the States the referendum has always been freely used not only for constitutions and constitutional amendments but for laws, especially for city charters, local franchises and the like. But if on demand of a minority of the voters the referendum is made compulsory all responsibility vanishes from the representative body. The representative no longer seeks to represent the whole people, or even his own constituency, but simply votes to refer everything to the voters and covers himself completely by pointing to the compulsory referendum. On the other hand the voters are called upon to legislate. Of the mass of measures submitted they know and can know nothing. Experience shows that in all referendums a large proportion of the voters decline to vote. Whether this is due to indifference or to lack of information the result is the same. It shows that this system demands from the voters what the most intelligent voters in the world are unable to give. They are required to pass upon laws, many of which they have neither time nor opportunity to understand without deliberation and without any dis-

cussion except what they can gather from the campaign orator who is, as a rule, interested in other matters, or from an occasional article in a newspaper. They can not alter or amend. They must vote categorically "yes" or "no." The majority either fails to vote and the small and interested minority carries its measure, or the majority in disgust votes down all measures submitted, good and bad alike, because they do not understand them and will not vote without knowing what their votes mean. The great laws which, both in England and the United States, have been the landmarks of freedom and made ordered liberty possible, were not passed, and never could have been perfected and passed, in such a way as this. This new plan is spoken of by its advocates as progressive. As a matter of fact, it is the reverse of progressive. Direct legislation by popular vote was familiar, painfully familiar, to Greece and Rome. In both it led through corruption, violence, and disorder to autocracy and despotism. The direct vote system also proved itself utterly incapable for the government of an extended empire and of large populations. Where government by direct vote miserably failed, representative government after all deductions have been made, has brilliantly succeeded. The development of the principle and practice of representative government was, as I have already pointed out, the one great contribution of modern times to the science of government. It has shown itself capable of preserving popular government and popular rights without the violence and corruption which resulted of old in anarchy and despotism and at the same time it has provided its adaptability to the management of large populations and the efficient government of great empires. Representative government was an enormous advance over government by the direct vote of the Forum, the Agora or the market place, which had preceded it, and which had gone down in disaster. It is now proposed to abandon that great advance and to return to the ancient system with its dark record of disorder and failure. This is not progress. It is retreat and retrogression. It is the abandonment of a great advance and a return to that which is not only old and outworn, but which history and experience have alike discredited.

Look now for a moment at representative government as we ourselves have known it. Let us not forget, in the first place, that the Congress of the United States under the Constitution has been in continuous existence for more than 120 years, that with the single exception of the "Mother of Parliaments" it is much the oldest representative body of a constitutional character now existing in the world. Let us also remember that the history of the American Congress is in large part the history of the United States and that we are apt to be proud of that history as a whole and of the many great things we as a people have accomplished. Yet, whatever praise history accords to the Congress of the United States in the past, the Congress of the moment and the members of that body in either branch receive but little commendation from their contemporaries. This is, perhaps, not unnatural and it certainly has always been customary. Legislative bodies have rarely touched the popular imagination or appeared in a dramatic or picturesque attitude. The Conscript Fathers, facing in silence the oncoming barbarians of Gaul; Charles the First, attempting to arrest the five members; the Continental Congress adopting the Declaration of Independence; the famous Oath of the Tennis Court, are almost the only instances which readily occur to one's mind of representative and legislative bodies upon whom for a brief instant has rested the halo of heroism and from which comes a strong appeal to the imagination. The men who fight by land and sea rouse immediate popular enthusiasm, but a body of men engaged in legislation does not and can not offer the fascination or the attraction which are inseparable from the individual man who stands forth alone from the crowd in any great work of life, whether of war or peace.

We may accept without complaint this tendency of human nature, but I think every dispassionate student of history, as well as every man who has had a share in the work of legislation, may rightfully deprecate the indiscriminate censure and the consistent belittling which pursue legislative bodies. This attitude of mind is not confined to the United States. The press of England treats its Parliament severely enough, although on the whole with more respect than is the case with the American press in regard to the American Congress. But running through

English novels and essays we find as a rule the same sneer at the representatives of the people as we do here. Very generally, both in this country and abroad, those who write for the public seem to start with the proposition that to be a Member of Congress or a Member of Parliament or a Member of the Chamber of Deputies in France, implies some necessary inferiority of mind or character. I do not desire to be rash or violent, but I think this theory deserves a moment's examination and is perhaps open to some doubt. As Mr. Reed once said, it is a fair inference that a man who can impress himself upon 200,000 people, or upon the whole population of a great State, sufficiently to induce them to send him to the House or Senate, has something more than ordinary qualities and something more than ordinary force. Then, again, as Edmund Burke remarked, you can not draw an indictment against a whole people, nor, I may add, can you draw an indictment against an entire class. There are good men and bad men in business and in the professions, in the ministry, in medicine, in law and among scholars. Virtue is not determined by occupation. There are, I repeat, good and bad men in every profession and calling, among high and low, rich and poor, and the honest men, who mean to do right, largely predominate, for if they did not the whole social structure would come crashing to the ground.

What is true of business and the professions is true of Congress. There are good and bad men in public life and the proportion of good to bad, I believe, compares favorably with that of any other occupation. Public men live in the fierce light which beats upon them as upon the throne, a light never fiercer or more pitiless than now, and for this reason their shortcomings are made more glaring and their virtues by contrast more shadowed than in private life. This is as it should be, for the man who does wrong in private life is far less harmful than the public servant who is false to his trust. To inflict upon the public servant who is a wrongdoer the severest reprobation is necessary for the protection of the community, but for this very reason we should be extremely careful that no reprobation should be visited unjustly on any public man. It is an evil thing to betray the public trust, but it is an equally evil thing to pour wholesale condemnation upon the head of every man in public

life, good and bad alike. That which suffers most from an injustice like this in the long run is not the public servant who has been unfairly dealt with, for the individual passes quickly, but the country itself. After all, the voters make the representative. If he is not of the highest type he appears to be that which the majority prefers. Wholesale criticism and abuse of the representatives reflect more on the constituences, if we stop to consider, than on those whom the constituencies select to represent them. Indiscriminate condemnation and equally indiscriminate belittling of the men who make and execute our laws, whether in State or Nation, is not only a reflection upon the American people but is a blow to the United States and every State in it. They help the guilty to escape and injure the honest and the innocent. They destroy the people's confidence in their own government and lower the country in the eyes of foreign nations.

The Congress of the United States embodies the representative principle. The principle of representation, as I have said, has been the great contribution of the English speaking race to the science and practice of government. The Greeks and the Romans, let me say once more, had pure democracy and legislation by direct vote in theory at least, and we have but to read Plato's "Republic" and "The Laws" to learn the defects of the system in use in Athens. Greece failed to establish an empire; she touched the highest peaks of civilization and finally went to pieces politically beneath the onset of Rome. Rome established a great empire, but after years of bloody struggles between aristocracy and democracy it ended in a simple despotism. The free cities of Italy oscillated between anarchy and tyranny, only to fall victims in the end to foreign masters. In Florence they had elections every three months and a complication of committees and councils to interpret the popular will. Yet the result was the Medicis and the Hapsburgs.

It is also to be remembered that the representative principle has been coincident with political liberty. Whatever its shortcomings or defects, and like all things human it has its grave defects, it none the less remains true that the first care of every "strong man," every "savior of society," every "man on horseback," of every autocrat, is either to paralyze or to destroy the

representative principle. It may be that the representative principle is not the cause of political liberty, but there can be no question whatever that the two have always gone hand in hand and that the destruction of one has been the signal for the downfall of the other. The Congress of the United States and the Legislatures of the several States embody the representative principle. By that principle your laws have been made and the republican form of government upheld for more than a century. Whatever its shortcomings it has maintained the government of the United States, and upheld law and order throughout our borders. The framers of our government separated the executive from the legislative branch. They deemed both essential to freedom. The Constitution of my State declares that the government it establishes is to be a government of laws and not of men; a noble principle and one worthy of fresh remembrance. With such a history, and typifying as it does the great doctrines which were embodied in the Declaration of Independence, the Constitution of the United States, and the institutions of England, it may be fairly asked that if the representative principle must be criticised, as it should be, with severity when it errs, it should also be treated with that absolute justice which is not only right in the abstract, but which is essential to the maintenance of law, order, and free government, to human progress and to the protection of the weak, even as the fathers designed that it should be. When we blame its failures let us not forget its services. They have broadened freedom down from precedent to precedent. They shine across those pages of history which tell the great story of the advance of liberty and of the ever widening humanity which seeks to make the world better and happier for those who most need happiness and well being. In beneficent results for the people at large no other form of government ever attempted can compare with it for a moment.

The worst feature of the compulsory initiative and referendum lies therefore in the destruction of the principle of representation. Power without responsibility is a menace to freedom and good government. Responsibility without power is inconceivable, for no man in his senses would bear such a burden. But when responsibility and power are both taken away, whether from the executive or the representatives, the result is simple

inanition. No man fit by ability and character to be a representative would accept the office under such humiliating conditions. Those who accepted it would do so for the pecuniary reward which the office carried and would sink rapidly into mere machines of record, neither knowing nor caring what they did. With a representative body thus reduced to nothingness we are left with the people armed only with their votes and with an executive who has necessarily absorbed all the real powers of the State. This situation is an old story and has always ended in the same way. It presents one of those rare cases in which the teaching of history is uniform. When the representative principle has departed and only its ghost remains to haunt the Capitol, liberty has not lingered long beside its grave. The rise of the representative principles and its spread to new lands today marks the rise of popular government everywhere. Wherever it has been betrayed or cast down the government has reverted to despotism. When representative government has perished freedom has not long survived.

Most serious, most fatal indeed, are the dangers threatened by the insidious and revolutionary changes which it is proposed to make in our representative system, upon which the makers of the Constitution relied as one of the great buttresses of the political fabric which was to ensure to popular government success and stability. Yet even these changes are less ruinous to the body politic, to liberty and order, than that which proposes to subject judges to the recall. No graver question has ever confronted the American people.

The men who framed the Constitution were much nearer to the time when there was no such thing as an independent judiciary than we are now. The bad old days, when judges did the bidding of the King, were much more vivid to them than to us. What is a commonplace to us was to them a comparatively recent and a hardly won triumph. The fathers of some of those men—the grandfathers of all—could recall Jeffreys and the "Bloody Assize." They knew well that there could be no real freedom, no security for personal liberty, no justice, without independent judges. It was for this reason that they established the judiciary of the United States with a tenure which was to last during good behavior and made them irremovable except by

impeachment. The Supreme Court then created and the judiciary which followed, have, as I have already said, excited the admiration of the civilized world. The makers of the Constitution believed that there should be no power capable of deflecting a judge from the declaration of his honest belief, no threat of personal loss, no promise of future emolument, which could be held over him in order to sway his opinion. This conviction was ingrained and born with them, as natural to them as the air they breathed, as vital as their personal honor. How could it have been otherwise? The independence of the judiciary is one of the great landmarks in the long struggle which resulted in the political and personal freedom of the English speaking people. The battle was fought out on English soil. If you will turn to the closing scenes of Henry IV, you will find there one of the noblest conceptions of the judicial office in the olden time ever expressed in literature. It was written in the days of the last Tudor or of the first Stuart, in the time of the Star Chamber, of judges who decided at the pleasure of the King, and when Francis Bacon, Lord Chancellor of England, took bribes or gifts. Yet lofty as is the conception you will see that Shakespeare regarded the judge as embodying the person, the will, and the authority of the King. We all know how the first two Stuarts used the courts to punish their enemies and to prevent the assertion of political rights, which are now such commonplaces that the fact that they were ever questioned is forgotten. The tyranny of the courts was one of the chief causes which led to the great rebellion, and out of that great rebellion, when the third Stuart had been restored, came the habeas corpus act, which has done more to protect personal liberty than any act ever passed. But the Second Charles and the Second James had learned nothing as to the judges. They expected them to do their bidding when the King had any interest at stake, and under the last Stuart the courts reached a very low point and the legal history of the time is characterized by the evil name of Jeffreys. When the lawyers went to pay their homage to William of Orange, they were headed by Serjeant Maynard, then ninety years of age. "Mr. Serjeant," said the Prince, "you must have survived all the lawyers of your standing." "Yes, sir," said the old man, "and but for Your Highness, I

should have survived the laws, too." The condition of the courts was indeed one of the strongest of many bitter grievances which wrought the revolution that placed William of Orange on the English throne. In the famous Bill of Rights there is no provision in regard to the courts, and it is not quite clear why it was omitted, although apparently it was due to an oversight. In any event it was not forgotten. It was brought forward more than once in Parliament, but William announced that he would not assent to any act making the judges independent of the Crown. As his reign drew toward its close, however, he signified that although he would veto a separate act he would accept the independence of the judiciary if provided for in the Act of Settlement, which was to determine the succession to the throne of England. Therefore we find in the Act of Settlement the clause which declares that the judges shall hold office during good behavior—*"quamdiu sembene gesserint"*—and shall be removable only on the request of both houses of Parliament.

It is necessary to pause a moment here and consider briefly the provision of the Act of Settlement for the removal of judges on an address by the House, because it has been most absurdly used by persons ignorant probably of its history, as a precedent justifying the recall. The clause was inserted not for the purpose of controlling the judges, but to protect them still further against the power of the Crown by which they had hitherto been dominated. The history of the clause since its enactment demonstrates what its purpose was as well as the fulfillment of that purpose in practice. During the two centuries which have elapsed since William III gave his assent to the act there has been, so far as I can learn, only one removal on address, that of Sir Jonah Barrington, an Irish judge, in 1806, more than a hundred years ago. There have been several cases where removal was petitioned for but Barrington's was, I think, the only one in which the demand was successful. The procedure employed shows that there is no resemblance whatever between the removal of a judge upon the address of the law-making body and the popular recall. They are utterly different, instituted for different purposes and the former furnishes in reality a strong argument against the latter. In all the cases

of removal or attempted removal by address of Parliament the accused judge was carefully tried before a special committee of each House; he could be heard at the bar of either House, he could and did employ counsel, and could summon and cross-examine witnesses. This proces is as far removed from the recall as the zenith from the nadir, for under the recall the accused judge has no opportunity to summon or cross-examine witnesses, to appear by counsel, or to be properly heard and tried. He is obliged under the recall to make an appeal by the usual political methods and at the same time to withstand another candidate, while he is forced to seek a hearing from audiences ignorant of the law and inflamed perhaps against him by passion and prejudice. He has no chance whatever of a fair trial.

Some of our States borrowed this provision of the Act of Settlement when they formed their Constitutions. My own State of Massachusetts was one of them. The power has been but rarely exercised by the Legislature in the hundred and thirty years which have passed since our Constitution was adopted. It so happened that when I was in the Legislature a case occurred and I was a member of the Committee on the Judiciary, to whom the petitions were referred. The accused judge was tried as elaborately and fairly as he could have been by any court or by the Senate if he had been impeached. He had counsel, he summoned and cross-examined witnesses, and the trial, for it was nothing less, occupied weeks. The committee reported in favor of removal, but the House rejected the committee's report. Some years later after a similar trial the address passed both Houses and the judge was removed by the Governor for misdemeanor and malfeasance in office. A mere statement of the procedure shows at once that the removal by address is simply a summary form of impeachment with no relation or likeness to the recall. Removal by address is no more like the recall than impeachment is. If successful they all result in the retirement of the judge accused, but there the resemblance ends.

The makers of the Constitution did not follow the Act of Settlement and adopt the removal on address. They no doubt perceived its advantages because it made possible the removal of a judge incapacitated by insanity or age or disease without inflicting upon him the stigma of an impeachment, but they also

saw that the removal by address might be used for political and personal reasons, of which one instance occurred in my own State, and they probably determined that the risk of its abuse outweighed any possible benefit which might flow from its judicious exercise.

They placed their courts as far as they could on the great heights of justice, above the gusts of popular passion. They guarded them in every possible way. They knew that judges were human and therefore fallible. They knew that the courts would move more slowly than popular opinion or than Congress, but they felt equally sure that they would in the end follow that public opinion which was at once settled and well considered. All this they did because all history and especially the history and tradition of their own race taught them that the strongest bulwark of individual freedom and of human rights was to be found ultimately in an independent court, the corner stone of all liberty. Their ancestors had saved the judges from the Crown. They would not retrace their steps and make them subject to the anger and the whim of any one else.

> "They wished men to be free,
> As much from mobs as kings,
> From you as me."

The problem which they then solved has in no wise changed. The independence of the judiciary is as vital to free institutions now as then. The system which our forefathers adopted has worked admirably and has commanded the applause of their children and of foreign nations, who Bacon tells us are a present posterity. Now it is proposed to tear this all down and to replace the decisions of the court with the judgment of the market place. If I may borrow a phrase from the brilliant speech made recently by Mr. Littleton in the House, it is intended to substitute "government by tumult for government by law."

Those who advocate this revolution in our system of government seem to think that a judge should be made responsive to the popular will, to the fleeting majority of one day which may be a minority the next. They would make their judges servile, and servile judges are a menace to freedom, no matter to whom

their servitude is due. They talk of a judge's duty to his constituents. A judge on the bench has no constituents and represents no one. He is there to administer justice. He is there not to make laws, but to decide what the law is. He must know neither friend nor foe. He is there to declare the law and to do justice between man and man.

The advocates of the recall seem to believe that with subservient judges glancing timidly to right and left to learn what voters think instead of looking steadfastly at the tables of the law, the poor will profit and the rich will suffer, that the individual will win and the corporation lose, that the powerful will be crushed and the weak will triumph, while the sword of the recall hangs over the head of a judicial Damocles. If even this were true nothing could be more fatal. A judge must know neither rich nor poor, neither strong nor weak. He must know only law and justice. He must never listen to Bassanio's appeal "To do a great right, do a little wrong." But their theory is in reality most lamentably false. No man fit to be a judge would, with few exceptions, take office under the recall. In the end the bench would be filled by the weak and the unscrupulous. The weak would make decisions to curry favor and hold votes. The unscrupulous would use their brief opportunity to assure their own fortunes and that assurance could come only from the rich and the powerful, who would thus control the decisions. For the American court we should substitute the Oriental Cadi with the bribe-giver whispering in his ear.

In one of the noblest passages of his letter to the sheriffs of Bristol, Edmund Burke says: "The poorest being that crawls on earth contending to save itself from injustice and oppression is an object respectable in the eyes of God and man." Without the independent judge those words could never have been written. Judges, of course, are human, and therefore err. I know well that there have been one or two great cases where the decision of the highest court traveling beyond its province has been reversed and swept away by the overwhelming force of public opinion, and the irresistible current of events. I know only too well that we suffer from the abuse of technicalities, from delays which are often a denial of justice and that the methods of our criminal law are in many states a disgrace

to civilization. But all these delays and abuses and miscarriages of justice are within the reach of Congress and legislatures and these evils can be remedied by statute whenever public opinion demands a reform. Their continued existence is our own fault. Yet when all is said the errors of the highest courts are few and the abuses and shortcomings to which I have referred can be cured by our own action. In the great mass of business, in the hundreds of trials which go on day by day and year by year, justice is done and the rights of all protected. We may declare with truth that in the courts as we have known them, the poor, the weak, the helpless, have found protection and sometimes their only defense. A mob might thunder at the gates, money might exert its utmost power, but there in the court room the judge could see only the law and justice. The safeguard of the rights and liberties of minorities and individuals, of the weak and above all of the unpopular, as a rule, has been found only in the court. And now it is proposed to undo all this and to make the judges dependent on the will of those upon whom they must pass judgment. If the framers of the Constitution were alive today they would not find a single new condition to affect their faith in an independent judiciary. They would decide now, as they decided then. Are we ready to reverse their judgment and open the doors to the flood of evils which will rush into the State as they always have rushed in when in times past the courts were controlled by an outside power?

The destruction of an independent judiciary carries with it everything else, but it only illustrates sharply the general theory pursued by the makers of the Constitution. They established a democracy and they believed that a democracy would be successful, but they also believed that it could succeed solely through forms and methods which would not make it impossible for the people to carry on their own government. For this reason it was that they provided against hasty action, guarded against passion and excitement, gave ample room for the cooler second thought and arranged that the popular will should be expressed through representative and deliberative assemblies and the laws administered and interpreted through independent courts. Those

who would destroy their work talk continually about trusting the people and obeying the people's will. But this is not what they seek. The statement as they make it is utterly misleading. That for which they really strive is to make the courts and the Congress suddenly and rapidly responsive to the will of a majority of the voters. It matters not that it may be a narrow, an ephemeral or fluctuating majority. To that temporary majority which the next year may be changed to a minority the Congress and the courts must at once respond. Legislation of the most radical, the most revolutionary character, may thus be forced upon the country not only without popular assent, but against the will of the great mass of the people.

The framers of the Constitution made it in the name and for the benefit of the people of the United States, for the entire people, not for any fraction or class of the people. They did not make the Constitution for the voters of the United States. They recognized that the popular will could only be expressed by those who voted and that the expression of the majority must in the end be final. But they restrained and made deliberate the action of the voters by the limitations placed upon the legislative, the executive, and the judicial branches, so that the rights of all the people might be guarded and protected against ill considered action on the part of those who vote. Those who now seek to alter the fundamental principles of the Constitution start with a confusion of terms and a false proposition. They talk glibly of the people. But they mean the voters and the voters are not the people, but a small portion of the people, not more than a fifth or a sixth part, who are endowed by law with the power to express what is to be regarded as the popular will. The legal voters are the representatives and trustees of all the inhabitants of the country, of all those under twenty-one to whom the future belongs, of all the women, of all resident aliens and of all persons not qualified to vote. They are the instrument, the only practicable instrument for reaching an expression of the popular will, but they are not the people as a whole for whom and for whose protection the Constitution was made. It was for the protection of the people that the makers of the Constitution made provisions to assure deliberate move-

ment and to prevent hasty, passionate or ill considered action. The purpose of those who would destroy the present Constitution is to remove these safeguards and for the people of the Constitution substitute without check, hindrance or delay, the will of the voters of the moment. They are blind to the awful peril of turning human nature loose to riot among first principles. But they do not stop even there. Under the system they propose a small minority of the voters who are themselves a minority of the people are to have unlimited power to compel the passage of laws. A small minority will be able, and as the experience of the voluntary referendum shows, will in almost every instance, contrive to place laws upon the statute book which the mass of the people really do not desire. A small minority can force the recall of a judge and drive him from the bench. The new system places the actual power in the hands of minorities, generally small, always interested and determined. Instead of government "by the people and for the people" we shall have government by factions with all the turbulence, disorder, and uncertainty that the rule of factions ever implies. Such a system is a travesty of popular government and the antipodes of true democracy. Under the same conditions of human nature, with no element of decision lacking then that we have now, the framers of the Constitution established the system under which we have flourished and rejected that which it is now proposed to set up and which all experience had shown to be a failure. Their system embodied in the Constitution has proved its efficacy. It has worked well and it has been an extraordinary success. The other, burdened with the failure of centuries, has always trodden the same path which revolves in the well worn, vicious circle from democracy to anarchy, from anarchy to despotism, and then by slow and painful steps back to the high levels of an intelligent freedom and an ordered liberty. Our ancestors sought to make it as impossible as human ingenuity could devise to drag democracy down by the pretense of giving it a larger scope. We are asked to retrace our steps, adopt what they rejected, take up that which has failed, cast down that which has triumphed and for government by the people substitute the rule of factions led by the eternal and unwearied

champions who in the name of the people seek the promotion which they lack.

Such are the questions which confront us today, amazing in their existence under a Constitution with such a history as ours. The evils which it is sought to remedy are all so far as they actually exist curable by law. No doubt evils exist, no doubt advance, reform, progress, improvements, are always needed as conditions change, but they can all be attained by law. There is no need to destroy the Constitution, to wreck the fundamental principles of democracy and of the Bill of Rights embodied in the first ten amendments, in order to attain to an amelioration of conditions, and to a wider and more beneficent social state when statutes can effect all and more than is demanded. It is not necessary to scuttle a noble ship in order to rid her of rats; it is not imperative to burn the strong well timbered house which has sheltered successive generations because there is a leak in the roof; it is only a madman who would hurl down in blackened ruin a noble palace, the work and care of centuries, because a stain easily erased may now and then be detected upon the shining whiteness of its marble walls.

All these questions, all these reforms and revolutions so gloriously portrayed to us, it can not be said too often, are very old. Their weakness is not that they are new, but that they are timeworn and outworn. The voices which are now crying so shrilly that we must destroy our Constitution and abandon all our principles of government have been heard

"In ancient days by Emperor and clown."

They are as old as human discontent and human impatience and are as ancient as the flattery which has followed sovereign authority from the days of the Pharaohs to our own.

There is a familiar story, which we all heard as children, of the courtiers of Knut, King of England, a mighty warrior and a wise man, not destitute evidently of humor. These courtiers told the king that the tide would not dare to come in against his command and wet his feet. So he bade them place his chair near the edge of the sea and the main came silent, flooding in

about him, and you all remember the lesson which the king read to his flatterers. Many kings have come and gone since then and those who still remain, now for the most part walk in fetters. But the courtier is eternal and unchanged. He fawned on Pharaoh and Cæsar and from their day to our own has always been the worst enemy of those he flattered. He and his fellows contended bitterly in France for the privilege of holding the king's shirt and when the storm broke which they had done so much to conjure up, with few exceptions they turned like cravens and fled. New courtiers took the vacant places. They called themselves friends of the people, but their character was unaltered. They flattered the mob of the Paris streets, shrieking in the galleries of the convention with a baseness and a falsehood surpassing even those of their predecessors who had cringed around the throne. Where there is a sovereign there will be courtiers, and too often the sovereign has listened to the courtiers and turned his back on the loyal friends who were ready to die for him, but would not lie to him. Too often has the sovereign forgotten that, in the words of one of the most penetrating and most brilliant of modern English essayists, "a gloomy truth is a better companion through life than a cheerful falsehood." Across the centuries come those dangerous and insidious voices and they sound as loudly now and are as false now as ever. They are always at hand to tell the sovereign that at his feet the tide will cease to ebb and flow, that the laws of nature and economic laws alike will at his bidding turn gently and do his will. And the tides move on and the waves rise and the sovereign who has listened to the false and selfish voices is submerged in the waste of waters while the courtiers have rushed back to safety and from the heights above are already shouting, "The King is dead! Long live the King!"

I have a deep reverence for the great men who fought the Revolution and made the Constitution, but I repeat that I as little think that all wisdom died with them as I do that all wisdom was born yesterday. When they dealt with elemental questions and fundamental principles, the same yesterday, today and forever, in human history, I follow them because they

have proved their wisdom by their success. I am not ready to say with Donne,

"We are scarce our father's shadow cast at noon,"

but I am more than ready, I profoundly believe that we should cherish in our heart of hearts the noble and familiar words of the wise son of Sirach:

"Let us now praise famous men and our fathers that begat us. The Lord hath wrought great glory by them through his great power from the beginning. Leaders of the people by their counsels and by their knowledge of learning meet for the people; all these were honored in their generations and were the glory of their times.

"There be of them that have left a name behind them, that their praises might be reported. And some there be which have no memorial; who are perished as though they had never been; and are become as though they had never been born; and their children after them. But these were merciful men whose righteousness hath not been forgotten. With their seed shall continually remain a good inheritance and their children are within the covenant.

"Their seed standeth fast and their children for their sakes. Their seed shall remain forever and their glory shall not be blotted out. Their bodies are buried in peace; but their name liveth forevermore. The people will tell of their wisdom and the congregation will show forth their praise."

Books of the Year by North Carolinians

BY D. H. HILL, PRESIDENT OF THE NORTH CAROLINA AGRICULTURAL AND MECHANICAL COLLEGE.

Classified as below I submit a list of the North Carolina books for the year, so far as I have been able to collect the names. If every author of a book would send a copy of his book to the North Carolina section of the State Library, the bibliography each year would be simple and accurate, and the State would take pride in having on its shelves copies of all its books.

HISTORY.

Sketches of Pitt County, by Henry T. King.

The Origin and Growth of the American Constitution, by Hannis Taylor.

The North Carolina Booklet has been, as usual, a vehicle for the publication of valuable short articles on State history.

The James Sprunt Monographs in State History have also been continued.

FICTION.

Sixes and Sevens, by "O. Henry" (Sidney Porter).

Whirligigs, by "O. Henry" (Sidney Porter).

In the Nantahalas, by Mrs. W. E. Townsend.

Root of Evil, by Thomas Dixon, Jr.

Cicely, by Sarah Beaumont Kennedy.

BIOGRAPHY.

Memoirs of W. W. Holden. This is No. 2 of the John Lawson Monographs, published by the Trinity College Historical Society.

Life of Andrew Jackson, by John S. Bassett.

Tributes to My Father and Mother, by J. W. Battle.

A Grandmother's Recollections of Dixie, by Mrs. M. N. Bryan.

Statesmen of the Old South, by W. E. Dodd.

George Bernard Shaw: His Life and Works, by Archibald Henderson.

Mark Twain, by Archibald Henderson.

J. L. McCurrie, by Edwin A. Alderman and Armistead C. Gordon.

VERSE.

Ways of Men, by F. H. Lyle.

North Carolina in Rhyme, by C. H. Johnson.

Poems, by Miss Shirley Pegram.

LEGAL BOOKS.

Banking and Negotiable Instruments, by George P. Pell.

The Constitution of the State of North Carolina, by Henry G. Connor and Jos. B. Cheshire, Jr.

TEXT-BOOKS.

A Primary Practical Arithmetic, by Mrs. F. L. Stevens and M. C. S. Noble.

Story of Cotton, by E. C. Brooks.

North Carolina Geography, by E. C. Brooks and W. D. Carmichael.

Makers of North Carolina History, by R. D. W. Connor.

A Study of Southern Poetry, by Henry Jerome Stockard.

The Twenty-seven Lines on the Cubic Surface, by Archibald Henderson.

Southern Oratory, compiled by J. Moore McConnell.

The Howell First Reader, by Logan D. Howell.

History of the United States, by J. G. deR. Hamilton and Messrs. Chandler and Riley.

Stevenson's Inland Voyage and Travels with a Donkey, edited by Edwin Mims.

MISCELLANEOUS BOOKS.

Early Morning Scenes in the Bible, by L. L. Nash.

Lectures on the Book of Revelation, by W. G. Nowell.

Lantern of Diogenes, by N. B. Herring.

Historical Activities in North Carolina

AN ADDRESS BY R. D. W. CONNOR BEFORE THE STATE LITERARY AND HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION, NOVEMBER 28, 1911.

Under the general term "Historical Activities" are included such activities as the erection of memorial tablets, monuments, statues, busts, the collection of portraits, manuscripts, printed documents, and newspapers, the general activities of patriotic and historical societies, and acts and resolutions of the General Assembly relating to historical matters. These activities, as will appear from the following report, were not confined to any one or two periods of our history, but reveal, on the contrary, a widespread interest in preserving the history of the State from colonial days to the very present.

FORT JOHNSTON TABLET.

The earliest event thus commemorated was the erection of Fort Johnston at the mouth of Cape Fear River. This old fortress, which in colonial days guarded the ports of Brunswick and Wilmington, was begun in 1746, completed in 1764, and destroyed in 1775. It was the scene of many interesting and important events at the outbreak of the Revolution, and in erecting a handsome marker on its site (May 23, 1911) the North Carolina Society, Colonial Dames of America, which has done so much for the preservation of our history, has placed the State under still further obligations to it. The following inscription on the tablet preserves the history of the fort:

THIS TABLET WAS ERECTED MAY, 1911, BY THE NORTH CAROLINA SOCIETY OF COLONIAL DAMES OF AMERICA, TO MARK THE SITE OF FORT JOHNSTON, THE FIRST FORT IN THE PROVINCE OF NORTH CAROLINA, BUILT UNDER ACT OF ASSEMBLY OF 1746, AND COMPLETED IN 1764, AND NAMED IN HONOR OF GOVERNOR GABRIEL JOHNSTON.

THE PATRIOTS OF THE CAPE FEAR, RESISTING THE EXECUTION OF THE STAMP ACT IN 1766, FORCED THE SPIKING OF ITS TWENTY-FOUR CANNON, THE GIFT OF KING GEORGE II.

THE FORT WAS THE REFUGE OF GOVERNOR JOSIAH MARTIN AFTER HIS FLIGHT FROM NEW BERN, MAY 24TH, 1775, UNTIL HE WAS COMPELLED BY THE PATRIOTS TO ABANDON IT, JULY 18TH, 1775, ON WHICH DAY IT WAS DESTROYED AND ROYAL GOVERNMENT IN NORTH CAROLINA CEASED.

THE SCOTTISH SOCIETY OF AMERICA.

The history of Fort Johnston is precisely coincident with the immigration into North Carolina of the Scotch-Highlanders, whose coming hither has so powerfully affected the history of this State. During the years 1746 to 1775 many thousands of these sturdy, self-reliant immigrants sailed into the Cape Fear and received their first welcome to the province in the salutes of the guns of Fort Johnston. In order that their influence on our history may not be forgotten and their memories may not perish, certain patriotic descendants of those gallant old Highlanders, on December 14, 1910, incorporated "The Scottish Society of America," with its principal office at Fayetteville. The objects of the Society as described by its charter are: (1) To rescue from oblivion Scottish history in North Carolina; (2) To promote a closer union in the State among those of Scottish descent; and (3) To encourage Scotch immigration to the State. The Society has before it a fertile field for cultivation if its work is properly pushed.

LIBERTY POINT MONUMENT ASSOCIATION.

The center of the Scotch-Highlanders' settlements in North Carolina was at Cross Creek, now Fayetteville. When the disputes between the Mother Country and her colonies reached an acute stage, the Highlanders, it is well known, espoused the cause of the former. However, there were Patriots, few in number but determined in spirit, even in the very stronghold of Toryism, and these Patriots, on June 20, 1775, met at Liberty Point in the immediate vicinity of Cross Creek, and signed a test binding themselves to maintain the cause of the colonies with their lives and fortunes. To commemorate this bold deed "The Liberty Point Monument Association" was incorporated by the last General Assembly of North Carolina. (Chapter 455, Private Laws of 1911.) The act recites the fact that

> On the twentieth day of June, one thousand seven hundred and seventy-five, . . . certain citizens of the county of Cumberland, therein named, met at what is known as "Liberty Point," at the junction of Bow and Person streets, in the city of Fayetteville, and adopted what is known as "Liberty Point Resolutions," in which they declared their purpose and intent to become independent of the

then existing government of Great Britain, and pledged their lives and fortunes for the promotion thereof and establishment of self-government.

The purposes of the corporation are (1) To provide for the annual celebration of this event; (2) To erect a monument "to commemorate the bravery and patriotism of those who participated therein."

MOORE'S CREEK BRIDGE BATTLE GROUND COMPANY.

This test, however, bears the names of but few Highlanders. The great majority of the clansmen remained loyal to the throne, and when the royal governor called upon them, in 1776, to take up arms in support of the royal cause they responded with great enthusiasm. In February, 1776, 1,600 of them marched out of Cross Creek to join the British Army daily expected at Wilmington. They met defeat at the hands of the Patriots at Moore's Creek Bridge, February 27, 1776. On July 27, 1911, the Moore's Creek Bridge Battle Ground Company unveiled a monument on Moore's Creek battleground to mark the old Wilmington-Fayetteville stage road, the route taken by the Highlanders on this disastrous campaign. The monument bears the following inscription:

OLD WILMINGTON AND FAYETTEVILLE STAGE ROAD.

ROUTE TAKEN BY THE BRITISH AND TORY ARMY FROM CROSS CREEK TO JOIN LORD CORNWALLIS AND CLINTON AT WILMINGTON. THEY WERE DEFEATED IN THE BATTLE AT THIS PLACE. 850 WERE CAPTURED AS PRISONERS OF WAR.

FEB. 27, 1776.

GEORGE LOCKE TABLET.

The battle of Moore's Creek Bridge saved the South from conquest in the spring of 1776. Four years passed, Georgia and South Carolina lay at the feet of the conqueror, and again patriots looked to North Carolina to save the cause of American independence. In the autumn of 1780 Lord Cornwallis, flushed with his brilliant victory at Camden, marched upon Charlotte. Every step of his progress was stubbornly contested by North Carolina patriots. One of those who gave his young life for the cause of his country in this partisan warfare was Lieutenant

George Locke, who fell in a contest with the dreaded dragoons of Colonel Tarleton about seven miles northeast of Charlotte. On September 26, the Mecklenburg Chapter, Daughters of the American Revolution, marked the spot on which he fell with a tablet on which they inscribed the following lines:

Lieutenant George Locke
killed by
Tarleton's Dragoons
Sept. 26, 1780.
Mecklenburg Chapter
D. A. R.
1911.

ELIZABETH MAXWELL STEELE TABLET.

Lord Cornwallis's progress into North Carolina was interrupted by the American victory at King's Mountain, in October, 1780. In December following General Nathanael Greene took command of the American army in this State, and in the following spring led Cornwallis on his fatal chase across North Carolina. One day in the early part of 1781, a lone horseman, weary, wet and muddy, dismounted at the door of an unpretentious house in the frontier village of Salisbury. Nobody would have dreamed that this soiled, travel-stained fugitive was with one exception the most famous soldier in America. But an American surgeon, Dr. Read, recognized him, and in great astonishment exclaimed,

"Why, General Greene, are you alone?"

"Yes," replied the disconsolate soldier, "alone, tired, hungry, friendless, and penniless."

This melancholy reply was overheard by the lady of the house, Mrs. Elizabeth Maxwell Steele, and this patriotic woman determined that before the General left her house he should know that at least he was not friendless. While Greene was at dinner she entered the room and carefully closing the door behind her approached the soldier and laid before him two small bags of gold and silver coins, her savings for years, saying:

"Take these, General; you need them, and I can do without them."

On the very spot which witnessed her patriotic sacrifice the Daughters of the American Revolution, October 11, 1911, unveiled a handsome tablet to the memory of Mrs. Steele. The tablet bears the following inscription:

D. A. R.
This Tablet
is erected to the memory of
Elizabeth Maxwell Steele
Patriot
by the
Elizabeth Maxwell Steele Chapter
Daughters of the American Revolution
1781–1911.

GUILFORD BATTLE GROUND COMPANY.

Cheered by the spirit of this splendid woman General Greene pursued his way, safely rejoined his army, and on March 15, 1781, turned on Cornwallis and at Guilford Court House fought the pivotal battle of the Revolution. This famous battlefield has in recent years, as everybody knows, been developed into an historical park, through the work of the Guilford Battle Ground Company. During the past year the work of the Company has been devoted principally to improving and beautifying the Battle Ground Park. The board of directors on March 15, 1911, adopted a resolution to erect a monument to the late Colonel Joseph M. Morehead, so long the zealous and patriotic president of the company, and at the annual celebration on the battlefield, July 4, a memorial address on the life and services of Colonel Morehead was delivered by Hon. Cyrus B. Watson. At the same time the Society of the Sons of the Revolution, through its vice-president, Hon. J. Bryan Grimes, presented to the company a replica of an old battle flag, the original of which, now preserved in the Masonic Temple, at Raleigh, was carried at the battle of Guilford Court House by a North Carolina regiment under Colonel Ebenezer Fulsome. The flag differs from the present National standard in that its stripes are blue and red and the thirteen stars are blue on a white field. A notable achievement of the Guilford Battle Ground Company

during the past year was securing the passage through the National Congress of an act appropriating $25,000 for the erection of a statue of General Nathanael Greene on the battle-ground. The contract for the statue is to be awarded December 15, 1911.

Joseph Montfort Memorial Association.

Two Revolutionary leaders whose memories have been honored during the past year were Joseph Montfort, of Halifax, and Benjamin Smith, of Brunswick.

Joseph Montfort, unfortunately for his own fame and for the good of his country, died at the very beginning of the struggle for independence. But in the initial stages of that contest he manifested a patriotic spirit and an ability in the cause of liberty which would undoubtedly have raised him to eminence among his countrymen. In the service of the colony he attained high position and as a member of the Masonic Order he reached the highest official position ever attained by an American. Accordingly, on February 13, 1911, the Joseph Montfort Memorial Association, an organization composed of Masons, erected at Halifax a handsome tablet to his memory, on which appears the following interesting inscription:

The Right Worshipful
Joseph Montfort.
Born in England A. D. 1724
Died at Halifax, N. C.
March 25, A. D. 1776
Appointed Provincial Grand Master of and
for America on Jan. 15, A. L. 5771 (A. D. 1771)
by the Duke of Beaufort
Grand Master of the Grand Lodge of England A. F. and A. M.
First Clerk of Court of Halifax County
Treasurer of the Province of North Carolina
Colonel of Colonial Troops
Member of Provincial Congress
Orator—Statesman—Patriot—Soldier
The Highest Masonic Offical ever reigning
on this Continent
the first—the last—the only
Grand Master of America.

BENJAMIN SMITH.

Benjamin Smith attained distinction both in the military and in the civil service of the State. In the former he served with credit as aide-de-camp to Washington in the New York campaigns, and with conspicuous gallantry in the defense of Charleston in 1779; in the latter he served frequently in the General Assembly, as Governor in 1811, and for many years as Trustee of the University. On November 15, 1911, the North Carolina Society Sons of the Revolution, at their regular annual session in Raleigh, presented to the State a handsome portrait of Governor Smith. The portrait was presented on behalf of the Society by Professor Collier Cobb, of the University of North Carolina, and accepted for the State by the Governor, and has been hung in the Governor's office.

CENTER CHURCH.

During the years immediately preceding the Revolution a stream of sturdy settlers from the north of Ireland poured into the southern colonies and scattered throughout the hills and valleys of the Piedmont section of North Carolina and South Carolina. These Scotch-Irish settlers were intensely religious and almost to the man members of the Presbyterian church. After they had won their independence from England they immediately gave their attention to perfecting their church organization. On November 5, 1788, at the old Center Church in Iredell County, delegates from North Carolina and South Carolina met and organized the first Presbyterian Synod of the Carolinas.

On November 8, 1911, the Presbyterian Synod of North Carolina, in a body, visited the present Center Church, which stands on the site of the old colonial church, and with suitable ceremonies unveiled a tablet in commemoration of that interesting and significant event. The following inscription appears on the tablet:

TO COMMEMORATE THE
FIRST MEETING
OF
THE SYNOD OF THE CAROLINAS
NOVEMBER 5, 1788
IN
CENTER CHURCH.

THE OLD TOWN OF BLOOMSBURY.

The signing of a treaty of peace with England and the organization of an independent government made necessary the location of a permanent capital. In 1792 a site in Wake County was selected and the city of Raleigh was laid out. The new city absorbed the old town of Bloomsbury, originally the county seat of Wake, and soon Bloomsbury disappeared from the map. In its brief existence, however, Bloomsbury witnessed many interesting events in our history, and consequently it is appropriate that its site should be properly marked. On April 26, 1911, the Bloomsbury Chapter, Daughters of the Revolution, with suitable ceremonies, unveiled a large boulder on the site at the corner of Boylan avenue and Morgan street, in the city of Raleigh, and on it fastened a handsome bronze tablet which bears the following inscription:

On and Around This Spot
Stood the Old Town of
BLOOMSBURY
or
WAKE COURT HOUSE
Which was Erected and Made the County-seat when
Wake County was Established in 1771.
This place was the rendezvous of a part of Governor Tryon's army when he marched against the Regulators in 1771; here met the State Revolutionary Assembly in 1781; and to this vicinity was removed the seat of government when the capital city of Raleigh was incorporated in 1792.

WAR OF EIGHTEEN TWELVE.

The peace between the Mother Country and her revolting colonies was of short duration. England felt that her honor and prestige required that she wipe out the disgrace of her defeat at Yorktown, and she adopted a policy which finally goaded the United States into war. War accordingly broke out in 1812, but after two years of fierce struggle a treaty of peace was signed at Ghent, December 24, 1814. Since that time many disputes have arisen between these two kindred nations, some of which in other days would undoubtedly have led to war. But for nearly a century all such disputes have been settled by arbitration and the two great English speaking na-

tions have thus set to all the world an example which will ultimately lead to world peace. It is now proposed that in 1914 the United States, Great Britain, and Canada should join in fitly celebrating this hundred years of peace among English-speaking people. As North Carolina, through the services on sea of her distinguished adopted son, Johnston Blakeley, and on land through her famous native son, Andrew Jackson, contributed largely to the success of the young republic in that crisis of her career, so it is fitting that she participate in the celebration of this long reign of peace. The Legislature of 1911 accordingly provided for our participation in the celebration by adopting the following resolution:

WHEREAS, There will have existed peace among English-speaking people for one hundred years at the anniversary of the signing of the Treaty of Ghent, December, one thousand eight hundred and fourteen, and all matters of dispute have been settled by arbitration, thus setting an example to all other nations, and it is intended to have an appropriate celebration of said anniversary by the people of Great Britain, Canada, and the United States, and a committee is to be appointed from all States: Now, therefore, the Governor is authorized to appoint four persons as members of said committee to act with it in the preparation of such measures as may tend to an appropriate celebration of the signing of the said Treaty of Ghent, which ended the war of one thousand eight hundred and twelve between Great Britain and the United States.

CONFEDERATE MONUMENTS.

Two great wars divide our history into three great epochs. The Revolution brought to a close the colonial period—The Epoch of Colonization and Settlement—and ushered in an epoch during which the South developed a marvelous social, industrial, and political system based on slave labor. The Civil War closed this period and ushered in the period of a varied industrial development. The Civil War was the great dividing line for the South from which for many years to come we shall reckon events. "Before the War" and "Since the War" are as thoroughly accepted terms in our vernacular for reckoning dates as "B. C." and "A. D." Naturally, therefore, our most striking historical activities have related for many years past, and will be related for many years to come with the events of the Civil War.

During the past year two monuments were unveiled in North Carolina to the soldiers of the Confederacy—one at Ashboro, the other at Elizabeth City. I regret that my inquiries have elicited no further information relative to the former. The latter, erected by the D. H. Hill Chapter, U. D. C., is a shaft surmounted by the figure of a Confederate soldier, standing at rest. Its total height is 30 feet; it cost $2,650, and the inscriptions are as follows:

[North side:]

To Our Confederate Dead.

[South side:]

1861–1865
Our Heroes.

These two monuments by no means indicate fully the interest taken by the people of North Carolina in preserving the memory of the Confederate soldier.

During the past summer the Guilford Chapter, United Daughters of the Confederacy, began a movement for the erection of a monument at Greensboro to the Confederate soldiers of Guilford County. The chapter reports great success in the raising of funds, but it has most wisely determined not to erect a monument until it has raised a sum large enough to secure one worthy of the object. In this respect the chapter would do well to keep before its eyes the notable achievement of the Robert F. Hoke Chapter, at Salisbury.

Acts of the General Assembly of 1911 display unusual liberality toward the work of erecting memorials to the soldiers of the Confederacy on the part of a considerable number of counties and towns. The Board of Commissioners of Burke County was authorized to appropriate as much as $1,500 toward the erection of a monument at Morganton "in memory of the bravery and devotion of the Confederate soldiers of Burke County in the Civil War." The Franklin County commissioners were given permission to appropriate $1,000 to aid in "the erection of a monument in the town of Louisburg, Franklin County, to perpetuate the memory of the Confederate soldiers who took part in the late Civil War, 1861-1865, and especially those who enlisted in the service of that sacred cause from the

county of Franklin." Similar acts were passed for Hertford County, authorizing $1,000; Lincoln County, authorizing $300; Macon County, authorizing $1,000; Nash County, authorizing $250; Polk County, authorizing $1,500; Sampson County, authorizing $1,000; Scotland County, authorizing $500; Person County, authorizing $1,000; Stanly County, authorizing the commissioners to appropriate so much money "as they may feel warranted in expending to aid in the erection of said monument"; the town of Rockingham, authorizing $500, and the town of Roxboro, authorizing $1,000. If all these counties and towns avail themselves of these acts they will expend on Confederate monuments more than $10,000, and in each case the act provides that the Daughters of the Confederacy must raise equal amounts, making a total of more than $20,000. That these patriotic societies will raise their amounts their past achievements leave us no room to doubt.

COMPANY "B," SECOND REGIMENT, NORTH CAROLINA STATE TROOPS.

Chapter 11, Private Laws of 1911, incorporates the surviving members of Company "B," Second Regiment, North Carolina State Troops. Those eligible in the corporation are (1) soldiers who served in the company while it was "in the active service of the State of North Carolina or of the Confederate States of America"; (2) lineal descendants of such soldiers. The purposes of the corporation are declared to be:

(a) To provide for meetings from time to time of the surviving members of said Company B, 2d Regiment, North Carolina State Troops, and of the descendants of deceased members of said company for mutual pleasure and improvement.

(b) To keep fresh in the minds of the said members of the said company the memory of those of their comrades who have passed away and to perpetuate their names and services as soldiers and as citizens, among their descendants.

(c) To preserve a suitable record of the services of the said Company B, 2d Regiment, North Carolina State Troops, to the State of North Carolina and to the Confederate States of America and to preserve and perpetuate the history of the said company, its officers and men, both during and since the Civil War, that their descendants may know and appreciate the patriotic purposes which inspired their forefathers to take up and bear arms in defense of their State from 1861 to 1865.

(d) To foster, stimulate and encourage among the descendants of the members of the said company a love of the State and country by preserving a true and accurate record of the said company and causing to be prepared a history of its service and of the lives of its members, both as soldiers and as citizens.

GEORGE DAVIS STATUE.

These activities look to the perpetuation of the daring and valor of the private soldiers. But we ought not to be forgetful of the great leaders of the Civil War. Among these leaders none deserve to take precedence of George Davis, Confederate States Senator, 1862-1864, and Attorney-General of the Confederacy, 1864-1865. The most notable event among the historical activities of the year was the unveiling at Wilmington, April 20, 1911, of an heroic bronze statue of Mr. George Davis, presented to the city by the United Daughters of the Confederacy. The statue stands on an eminence in the center of Market Street Plaza, at the intersection of Third Street, near the site of the headquarters of Lord Cornwallis when he occupied Wilmington after his disastrous victory at Guilford Court House in 1781. Nothing could be more appropriate than the selection of this historic site for the statue of George Davis, who did more to preserve the history of the Cape Fear section from neglect and oblivion than any other man. The western face of the pedestal has upon it the seals of the State of North Carolina and of the Confederacy in inlaid gilt bronze. Upon this face of the monument and above the medallions are these words:

GEORGE DAVIS
SENATOR AND ATTORNEY GENERAL
OF THE
CONFEDERATE STATES OF AMERICA.

[Below the medallions:]

1820–1896.

[On the southern side of the pedestal are these words:]

SCHOLAR
PATRIOT
STATESMAN
CHRISTIAN.

[On the eastern side of the pedestal is the following inscription:]

HIS WISDOM ILLUSTRATED THE PRINCIPLES OF LAW AND EQUITY. HIS ELOQUENCE COMMANDED THE ADMIRATION OF HIS PEERS. BELOVED FOR HIS STAINLESS INTEGRITY HIS MEMORY DWELLS IN THE HEARTS OF HIS PEOPLE. SHINING IN THE PURE EXCELLENCE OF VIRTUE AND REFINEMENT, HE EXEMPLIFIED WITH DIGNITY AND SIMPLICITY, WITH GENTLE COURTESY AND CHRISTIAN FAITH THE TRUE HEART OF CHIVALRY IN SOUTHERN MANHOOD.

[On the north side:]

ERECTED IN LOVING MEMORY
BY THE
UNITED DAUGHTERS OF THE CONFEDERACY.

ANDREW JOHNSON MONUMENT.

A native North Carolinian who attained eminence during the Civil War was Andrew Johnson. Though at one time slightly in disfavor in the South, yet as we become removed further and further from the struggle of the sixties, as our animosities become mellowed by time, and as our perspective upon great historical events and characters of that period becomes clearer, we can see that for his manly stand in behalf of their rights in the dark days of Reconstruction Andrew Johnson deserves well of the Southern people. We ought to welcome, it seems to me, an opportunity to honor his memory. That opportunity has come. On April 27, 1911, Hon. Edward W. Pou, Representative in Congress from the Fifth Congressional District, introduced in the House of Representatives the following bill:

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America, in Congress assembled, that the sum of twenty-five thousand dollars be, and the same is hereby appropriated, out of any money in the treasury not otherwise appropriated, to be expended by the Raleigh Chamber of Commerce and Industry and the Merchants Association of the City of Raleigh, under the direction of the Secretary of War, for the erection of a heroic bronze statue of the late President Andrew Johnson on the United States Government grounds in the city of Raleigh, North Carolina: *Provided*, that the design for said statue shall be approved by the Secretary of War and by the Raleigh Chamber of Commerce and Industry and by the Merchants Association of said city.

DAVID SCHENCK AND JOSEPH M. MOREHEAD.

"Since the War" North Carolina's most notable achievements have been in the field of education. It is not remarkable, therefore, that the historical activities of the year bearing upon this period of our history were all in commemoration of work in education.

Distinctly educational was the work of David Schenck and Joseph M. Morehead at the Guilford Battle Ground. Their success in clearing the memory of the North Carolina soldiers who participated in the critical battle of Guilford Court House from charges of cowardice and disobedience of orders deserves the gratitude of all North Carolinians who love their State and her good name; and their work in converting that historic battleground from an old field into a beautiful historical park deserves the thanks of Americans everywhere. In the following the last General Assembly paid a deserved tribute to their memory which voices the universal sentiment of our people:

Whereas, David Schenck and Joseph M. Morehead, as presidents of the Guilford Court House Battle Ground Association, gave largely and devotedly of their time and means to the preservation of the Guilford Court House Battle Ground, and rendered distinguished service to the State and Nation by arresting the attention of mankind and fixing it upon the heroic deeds of the American patriots upon that historic scene of conflict between the American Revolutionary and British forces; and whereas, the untiring efforts of the said David Schenck and James M. Morehead made possible the fulfillment of the wish cherished by many, that at Guilford Court House Battle Ground their children and their children's children might throughout all time read in bronze and marble the deeds of valor and self-sacrifice of their ancestors and tread the soil made sacred by the blood of martyrs to the cause of freedom; whereas, said services merit public recognition and an expression of the appreciation of a grateful people: now, therefore, be it

Resolved by the Senate, the House concurring:

First, that the State of North Carolina, through its General Assembly, give public acknowledgment of its debt of gratitude for the services of these distinguished dead.

M'IVER STATUE.

The most distinguished educational leader in the history of North Carolina was the late Charles D. McIver.

During the year the committee in charge of the fund for erecting a statue of Dr. McIver, placed its order with Mr. F. W. Ruckstuhl, and the statue will be unveiled some time in the early part of the year 1912.

EMMA HEARNE SOUTHERLAND TABLET.

A well deserved tribute was paid to the work of a faithful teacher when a tablet was unveiled in the auditorium of the Mount Olive Graded School, March 1, 1911, to the memory of Mrs. Emma Hearne Southerland. The tablet was erected by The Twentieth Century Club of that town, which Mrs. Southerland organized. The inscription is:

IN MEMORIAM
EMMA HEARNE SOUTHERLAND
ERECTED BY
THE TWENTIETH CENTURY CLUB
1911.

PORTRAIT OF AUGUSTUS LEAZAR.

On May 30, 1911, in the auditorium of Pullen Hall, at the North Carolina College of Agriculture and Mechanic Arts, the Leazar Literary Society presented to the College a portrait of Augustus Leazar, soldier, teacher, legislator, and author of the act founding the college.

DAUGHTERS OF THE REVOLUTION.

Several patriotic and historical societies have been at work whose activities were not limited to any particular period of our history.

The Daughters of the Revolution, during the year, presented medals for essays in North Carolina history to the city schools of Edenton, Raleigh, Elizabeth City, and New Bern, and awarded a scholarship for historical work to a pupil of the Edenton city schools. They have also continued the publication of the North Carolina Booklet.

THE WACHOVIA HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

The Wachovia Historical Society made a number of additions to its collections of particular interest in illustrating the

industrial life of the Moravian settlements. Quarters are now being prepared by the Society for the care and preservation of the archives of the Moravian Church of North Carolina.

NORTH CAROLINA HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

The North Carolina Historical Society, in addition to the program carried out at its regular meetings, has made a tentative study of the life of the negroes of Chapel Hill with a view to a publication on the subject at some future time. The society acquired during the year twenty bound volumes of North Carolina newspapers, and issued two volumes of the James Sprunt Historical Publications.

TRINITY COLLEGE HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

During the year the Trinity College Historical Society published "The Memoirs of W. W. Holden," being volume II of the John Lawson Monographs. The Society has added materially to its collections, notably to its newspaper files and, through coöperation with the Trinity College Library, has completed its file of the laws of North Carolina.

STATE ADMINISTRATION BUILDING.

The most notable achievement in the interest of history and historical studies of the past year was the passage by the General Assembly of a bill appropriating $250,000 for the erection of a fireproof building in this city primarily for the safe keeping of the public libraries and historical collections of the State. I speak of this as an achievement in the interest of history because it is a well known fact that the movement for such a building originated with this Association and it is equally well known that the desire to make adequate provisions for the care of the State's libraries and historical collections was the motive which induced the Legislature to make the appropriation. Indeed the act itself cites, as the necessity for such a building, the fact that as "valuable libraries, priceless manuscripts, historic relics, many records and much [public] property are housed in many separate and unfit buildings, exposed to constant danger from fire," therefore "it is imperatively necessary that larger

and safer quarters be provided for them," and consequently it was enacted that "a fireproof building, adequate for the purposes intended and required, should be erected."

In this building, which is to be erected at the head of Fayetteville Street, facing on Morgan Street and overlooking the Capitol Square, commodious and convenient quarters are to be provided for the State Library and the State Historical Commission. To the former the Building Commission has assigned the first floor, to the latter the second floor. On this floor will be provided offices for the Historical Commission, a Document Room for the filing of the Commission's manuscripts and archives of the State, an exhibition hall for the exhibition of manuscripts, a Hall of History for the preservation of historic relics, a Portrait Gallery, reading rooms for students, and other facilities for the work of the Historical Commission.

THE NORTH CAROLINA HISTORICAL COMMISSION.

Nothing can better illustrate the growth in importance and in public interest of the work of the North Carolina Historical Commission than the willingness of the General Assembly to make such generous provisions for its present needs and its future expansion.

MANUSCRIPTS.

The chief activities of the Historical Commission during the past year have been in the collection of manuscripts. It is impossible to state accurately how many historical documents have been added to the State's collections in this way, but speaking conservatively the number can not fall short of ten thousand. Among them are the letters and papers of William A. Graham, Archibald D. Murphey, David L. Swain, the Pettigrew family (notably the papers of Bishop-elect Charles Pettigrew, Congressman Ebenezer Pettigrew, and General J. Johnston Pettigrew), and a large collection of miscellaneous manuscripts. From Mrs. J. F. Minis, of Savannah, Ga., the Historical Commission has received several valuable military maps of Eastern North Carolina, made for the Confederate Government by her father, Major-General J. F. Gilmer, chief of the Bureau of Engineers, C. S. A., a native of North Carolina.

THE RANSOM BUST.

During the past year the Historical Commission has been the means of securing for the State handsome busts of three of her most eminent sons.

On March 4, 1910, Hon. Robert W. Winston, a former President of this Association, addressed a communication to the North Carolina Historical Commission stating that he had in hand funds sufficient for the erection of a bust of former United States Senator Matt W. Ransom, and placing the same at the disposal of the Historical Commission, to be used for placing a bust of Senator Ransom in the rotunda of the State Capitol. The Historical Commission accepted Judge Winston's generous offer, and placed an order for the bust with Mr. F. W. Ruckstuhl, a well known sculptor of New York. On January 11, 1911, in the presence of the State Literary and Historical Association, the Governor of North Carolina, and the General Assembly of the State, the bust, occupying the niche on the southwest side of the rotunda, was unveiled and presented to the State. As Attorney-General of the State, as Major-General in the Confederate States Army, and as Senator in the Congress of the United States for twenty-three years, Matt W. Ransom rendered services to North Carolina which entitle him to high rank among her public men, and justly deserves this tribute to his memory.

JOHNSTON AND MOREHEAD BUSTS.

During the year through the generosity of the Grand Lodge of Masons the State Historical Commission has been enabled to place an order for the bust of Samuel Johnston, Governor from 1787 to 1789, and first United States Senator from North Carolina; and through the liberality of his grandsons, Hon. J. M. Morehead and Hon. Lindsay Patterson, the Historical Commission has been enabled to place an order for a bust of John M. Morehead, Governor from 1841 to 1845. These busts are to be delivered within the next few days, and in due time will be set up in the rotunda of the Capitol.

For seventy years the four niches on the lower floor of the rotunda, especially designed for busts of eminent public servants, remained empty. On January 12, 1910, the first one was

filled, and before 1912 sets in, busts will have been set up in every niche on the lower floor of the rotunda of the Capitol.

THE WILEY BUST.

It is a most interesting fact as illustrating the awakened interest in this kind of work in North Carolina, that, although not a stone has yet been laid for the new State Administration Building, yet already one handsome marble bust and one life-size bronze statue are being prepared to be set up therein immediately upon its completion—the former to an educator, the latter to a great jurist.

A few years ago the school children of North Carolina started a movement to raise a fund, by penny collections, to have erected a bust of Calvin H. Wiley, the first Superintendent of Public Instruction, 1853-1865, in North Carolina. During the first year an order for this bust was placed with Mr. George Gray Barnard, one of the best known of American sculptors, who will complete his work some time during the coming year.

RUFFIN BUST.

Last summer the State Bar Association adopted a resolution to raise funds for the erection of a statue of Chief Justice Thomas Ruffin in the new State Building. Yesterday the committee in charge reported that the necessary funds were in hand and appointed a sub-committee to select the sculptor and award the contract.

HALL OF HISTORY.

The Director of the Hall of History reports that in his work the year has been "a very quiet one," because all the available space in the hall has already been filled. A number of objects have been added, but none of marked importance. "The collection embraces at present something over 8,300 objects." The Director estimates the number of visitors to the Hall of History during the year at 75,000.

SUMMARY.

Summarizing this report it appears that during the past year —or to be more exact, during the last ten months, as it has not

been quite a year since our last meeting—there have been the following historical activities in North Carolina:

1. There were erected eight memorial tablets.

2. Three statues and monuments were erected, and plans were completed for the erection of seventeen others.

3. Busts of four eminent men were executed.

4. Two portraits of persons distinguished in our history were presented to the State.

5. Three patriotic societies, designed to commemorate specific events, were organized.

6. The General Assembly provided ample quarters for the State Library and the State Historical Commission.

7. The State Historical Commission secured an addition to its collections of more than 10,000 manuscripts.

The Patterson Memorial Cup

The Conditions of Award Officially Set Forth by Mrs. Patterson

To the President and Executive Committee of the Literary and Historical Association of North Carolina:

As a memorial to my father, and with a view to stimulating effort among the writers of North Carolina, and to awaken among the people of the State an interest in their own literature, I desire to present to your Society a loving cup upon the following stipulations, which I trust will meet with your approval, and will be found to be just and practicable:

(1) The cup will be known as the "William Houston Patterson Memorial Cup."

(2) It will be awarded at each annual meeting of your Association for ten successive years, beginning with October, 1905.

(3) It will be given to that resident of the State who, during the twelve months from September 1st of the previous year to September 1st of the year of the award, has displayed, either in prose or poetry, without regard to its length, the greatest excellence and the highest literary skill and genius. The work must be published during the said twelve months and no manuscript nor any unpublished writings will be considered.

(4) The name of the successful competitor will be engraved upon the cup, with the date of award, and it will remain in his possession until October 1st of the following year, when it shall be returned to the Treasurer of the Association, to be by him held in trust until the new award at your annual meeting that month. It will become the permanent possession of the one winning it oftenest during the ten years, provided he shall have won it three times. Should no one, at the expiration of that period, have won it so often, the competition shall continue until that result is reached. The names of only those competitors who shall be living at the time of the final award shall be considered in the permanent disposition of the cup.

(5) The Board of Award shall consist of the President of the Literary and Historical Association of North Carolina, who will act as chairman, and of the occupants of the Chairs of English Literature at the University of North Carolina, at Davidson College, at Wake Forest College, and at the State College of Agriculture and Mechanic Arts at Raleigh, and of the Chairs of History at the University of North Carolina and at Trinity College.

(6) If any of these gentlemen should decline or be unable to serve, their successors shall be appointed by the remaining members of the Board, and these appointees may act for the whole unexpired term or for a shorter time, as the Board may determine. Notice of the

inability of any member to act must be given at the beginning of the year during which he declines to serve, so that there may be a full committee during the entire term of each year.

(7) The publication of a member of the Board will be considered and passed upon in the same manner as that of any other writer.

Mrs. J. Lindsay Patterson.

SUPPLEMENTARY RESOLUTION.

According to a resolution adopted at the 1908 session of the Literary and Historical Association, it is also provided that no author desiring to have his work considered in connection with the award of the Cup shall communicate with any member of the committee, either personally or through a representative. Books or other publications to be considered, together with any communications regarding them, must be sent to the Secretary of the Association and by him presented to the chairman of the committee for consideration.

Sustaining Members

Col. A. B. Andrews.....Raleigh, N. C.
Mrs. A. B. Andrews.....Raleigh, N. C.
J. B. Blades.....New Bern, N. C.
Col. Benehan Cameron.....Stagville, N. C.
Gen. Julian S. Carr.....Durham, N. C.
Mrs. G. P. Collins.....Hillsboro, N. C.
Ceasar Cone .....Greensboro, N. C.
Junius Davis .....Wilmington, N. C.
Euzelian Literary Society.....Wake Forest, N. C.
C. N. Evans.....Wilmington, N. C.
Dr. R. H. Lewis.....Raleigh, N. C.
P. Pearsall .....Wilmington, N. C.
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W. D. Pruden.....Edenton, N. C.
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Mrs. W. N. Reynolds .....Winston-Salem, N. C.
James Sprunt .....Wilmington, N. C.
Jas. Alvis Walker.....Wilmington, N. C.
Judge Platt D. Walker..... ....Charlotte, N. C.
Geo. W. Watts.....Durham, N. C.
Mrs. W. W. Watt.....Charlotte, N. C.

Regular Members

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Prof. J. T. Alderman.....Henderson, N. C.
C. L. Alexander.....Charlotte, N. C.
George Allen .....Raleigh, N. C.
W. M. Allen.....Raleigh, N. C.
Prof. Ivey Allen .....Louisburg, N. C.
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W. J. Andrews.....Raleigh, N. C.
Mrs. W. J. Andrews.....Raleigh, N. C.
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Mrs. Albert Anderson.....Raleigh, N. C.
Miss Violet G. Alexander.....Charlotte, N. C.
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W. J. Armfield.....High Point, N. C.
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Capt. S. A. Ashe.....Raleigh, N. C.
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Rev. Milton A. Barber.....Raleigh, N. C.
Prof. Allan J. Barwick.....Newton, N. C.
Wm. G. Battle.....Tarboro, N. C.
Dr. Kemp P. Battle.....Chapel Hill, N. C.
Dr. K. P. Battle, Jr.....Raleigh, N. C.
Mrs. K. P. Battle, Jr.....Raleigh, N. C.
Dr. R. H. Battle.....Raleigh, N. C.
Thos. H. Battle.....Rocky Mount, N. C.
Jacob Battle .....Rocky Mount, N. C.
M. J. Battle.....Whitakers, N. C.
Dr. S. Westray Battle.....Asheville, N. C.
Miss Bessie Bates.....Raleigh, N. C.
Miss Grace H. Bates.....Raleigh, N. C.
A. P. Bauman.....Raleigh, N. C.
Dr. Louis G. Beall.....Morganton, N. C.
Dr. W. P. Beall.....Greensboro, N. C.
Mrs. S. E. Bear.....Raleigh, N. C.
R. F. Beasley.....Monroe, N. C.
E. C. Beddingfield.....Raleigh, N. C.
W. H. Belk.....Charlotte, N. C.
John D. Bellamy.....Wilmington, N. C.
Judge R. T. Bennett.....Wadesboro, N. C.
Miss Margaret Bessent.....Winston-Salem, N. C.
W. E. Beville.....Greensboro, N. C.
Hon. T. W. Bickett.....Louisburg, N. C.
Mrs. T. W. Bickett.....Louisburg, N. C.
Col. Robert Bingham.....Asheville, N. C.
J. Crawford Biggs.....Durham, N. C.
Mrs. J. Crawford Biggs.....Durham, N. C.
Miss Mary S. Birdsong.....Raleigh, N. C.
O. W. Blacknall.....Kittrell, N. C.

Miss Blanche Barrus.....Raleigh, N. C.
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Prof. J. A. Bivins.....Raleigh, N. C.
Mrs. J. A. Bivins.....Raleigh, N. C.
Prof. J. J. Blair.....Wilmington, N. C.
Wm. A. Blair.....Winston-Salem, N. C.
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W. R. Bond.....Scotland Neck, N. C.
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R. T. Bonner.....Aurora, N. C.
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J. C. Braswell.....Rocky Mount, N. C.
A. G. Brenizer.....Charlotte, N. C.
Miss Caroline M. Brevard.....577 Monroe St., Tallahassee, Fla.
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T. H. Briggs.....Raleigh, N. C.
H. H. Brimley.....Raleigh, N. C.
Miss Mabel Borden.....Goldsboro, N. C.
L. C. Brogden.....Raleigh, N. C.
F. H. Brooks.....Smithfield, N. C.
Prof. E. C. Brooks.....Durham, N. C.
N. B. Broughton.....Raleigh, N. C.
Jos. G. Brown.....Raleigh, N. C.
Mrs. Jos. G. Brown.....Raleigh, N. C.
Miss Bessie Brown.....Raleigh, N. C.
Frank B. Brown.....Raleigh, N. C.
Rev. B. E. Brown.....Tarboro, N. C.
Dr. F. C. Brown.....Durham, N. C.
Geo. H. Brown.....Raleigh, N. C.
H. A. Brown.....Columbia, Tenn.
J. A. Brown.....Chadbourn, N. C.
Prof. Wade R. Brown.....Raleigh, N. C.
Mrs. Wade R. Brown.....Raleigh, N. C.
J. D. Bruner.....Murfreesboro, N. C.
Col. J. F. Bruton.....Wilson, N. C.
Judge A. Burwell.....Charlotte, N. C.
W. O. Burgin.....Thomasville, N. C.
Perrin Busbee.....Raleigh, N. C.
Jaques Busbee.....Raleigh, N. C.
Judge Wm. P. Bynum.....Greensboro, N. C.

Miss Bettie Caldwell.....Greensboro, N. C.
Miss Sallie Shepherd Camp.....Franklin, Va.

R. T. Campbell.....Asheville, N. C.
D. D. Carroll.....Guilford College, N. C.
T. H. Calvert.....Raleigh, N. C.
Mrs. Benehan Cameron.....Stagville, N. C.
Miss Rebecca Cameron.....Hillsboro, N. C.
W. F. Carr.....Durham, N. C.
J. O. Carr.....Wilmington, N. C.
Dr. Delia Dixon-Carroll.....Raleigh, N. C.
Mrs. J. R. Chamberlain.....Raleigh, N. C.
J. E. Clark.....Washington, N. C.
Judge Walter Clark.....Raleigh, N. C.
Dr. P. P. Claxton.....Washington, D. C.
W. J. Craig.....Wilmington, N. C.
Mrs. Mary B. Crawford.....Greensboro, N. C.
W. C. Cram.....Raleigh, N. C.
Jesse E. Clark.....Raleigh, N. C.
Heriot Clarkson .....Charlotte, N. C.
Rt. Rev. Jos. Blount Cheshire.....Raleigh, N. C.
Mrs. Jos. Blount Cheshire.....Raleigh, N. C.
Jos. Blount Cheshire, Jr.....Raleigh, N. C.
Miss Sarah F. Cheshire.....Raleigh, N. C.
Mrs. Geo. W. Coam.....Winston-Salem, N. C.
Prof. Collier Cobb.....Chapel Hill, N. C.
T. G. Cobb.....Morganton, N. C.
Mrs. May Wright Cobb.....Lincolnton, N. C.
Mrs. A. L. Coble.....Statesville, N. C.
Josiah Collins .....Seattle, Wash.
Edward L. Conn.....care *Sun*, Baltimore, Md.
R. D. W. Connor.....Raleigh, N. C.
Mrs. R. D. W. Connor.....Raleigh, N. C.
Judge H. G. Connor.....Wilson, N. C.
Andrew J. Conner.....Rich Square, N. C.
Prof. Chas. L. Coon.....Wilson, N. C.
Prof. J. M. Costner.....Raleigh, N. C.
Mrs. J. M. Costner.....Raleigh, N. C.
J. Macaulay Costner.....Chapel Hill, N. C.
Elias Carr .....Raleigh, N. C.
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Haywood Parker.....Asheville, N. C.
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Miss Edith Royster.....Raleigh, N. C.
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Mrs. V. C. Royster.....Raleigh, N. C.
Miss Mabel T. Royster.....Raleigh, N. C.
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Frank P. Shields.....Scotland Neck, N. C.
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John A. Simpson.....Raleigh, N. C.
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E. P. Wharton.....Greensboro, N. C.
Mrs. E. P. Wharton.....Greensboro, N. C.
Henry Weil .....Goldsboro, N. C.
Sol. Weil .....Goldsboro, N. C.
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M. S. Willard.....Wilmington, N. C.
Miss Ruth Cleveland Williams.....Franklin, Va.
S. E. Williams.....Lexington, N. C.
Wm. H. Williamson.....Raleigh, N. C.
Mrs. Wm. H. Williamson.....Raleigh, N. C.
Frank Wilkes .....Charlotte, N. C.
Mrs. H. deB. Wills.....Chapel Hill, N. C.
H. V. Wilson.....Chapel Hill, N. C.

R. N. Wilson.....Guilford College, N. C.
Louis R. Wilson.....Chapel Hill, N. C.
Hon. B. B. Winborne.....Murfreesboro, N. C.
J. W. Winborne.....Marion, N. C.
Dr. Geo. T. Winston.....Asheville, N. C.
Hon. Francis D. Winston.....Windsor, N. C.
Judge Robt. W. Winston.....Raleigh, N. C.
Mrs. R. W. Winston.....Raleigh, N. C.
Miss Lina O. Wiggins.....Lynchburg, Va.
Mrs. J. M. Winfree.....Raleigh, N. C.
Jas. M. Wright.....R. 2, Laurinburg, N. C.
Wachovia Historical Society.....Winston-Salem, N. C.
J. H. Wisler.....Moncure, N. C.
W. A. Withers.....Raleigh, N. C.
C. A. Woodard.....Durham, N. C.
Hon. F. A. Woodard.....Wilson, N. C.
Frank Wood .....Edenton, N. C.
H. G. Wood.....Edenton, N. C.
W. P. Wood.....Raleigh, N. C.
Miss Ada V. Womble.....Raleigh, N. C.
Louis D. Womble, Jr.....Raleigh, N. C.

A. H. Yerby.....Raleigh, N. C.
Hon. J. R. Young.....Raleigh, N. C.
Miss S. E. Young.....Raleigh, N. C.